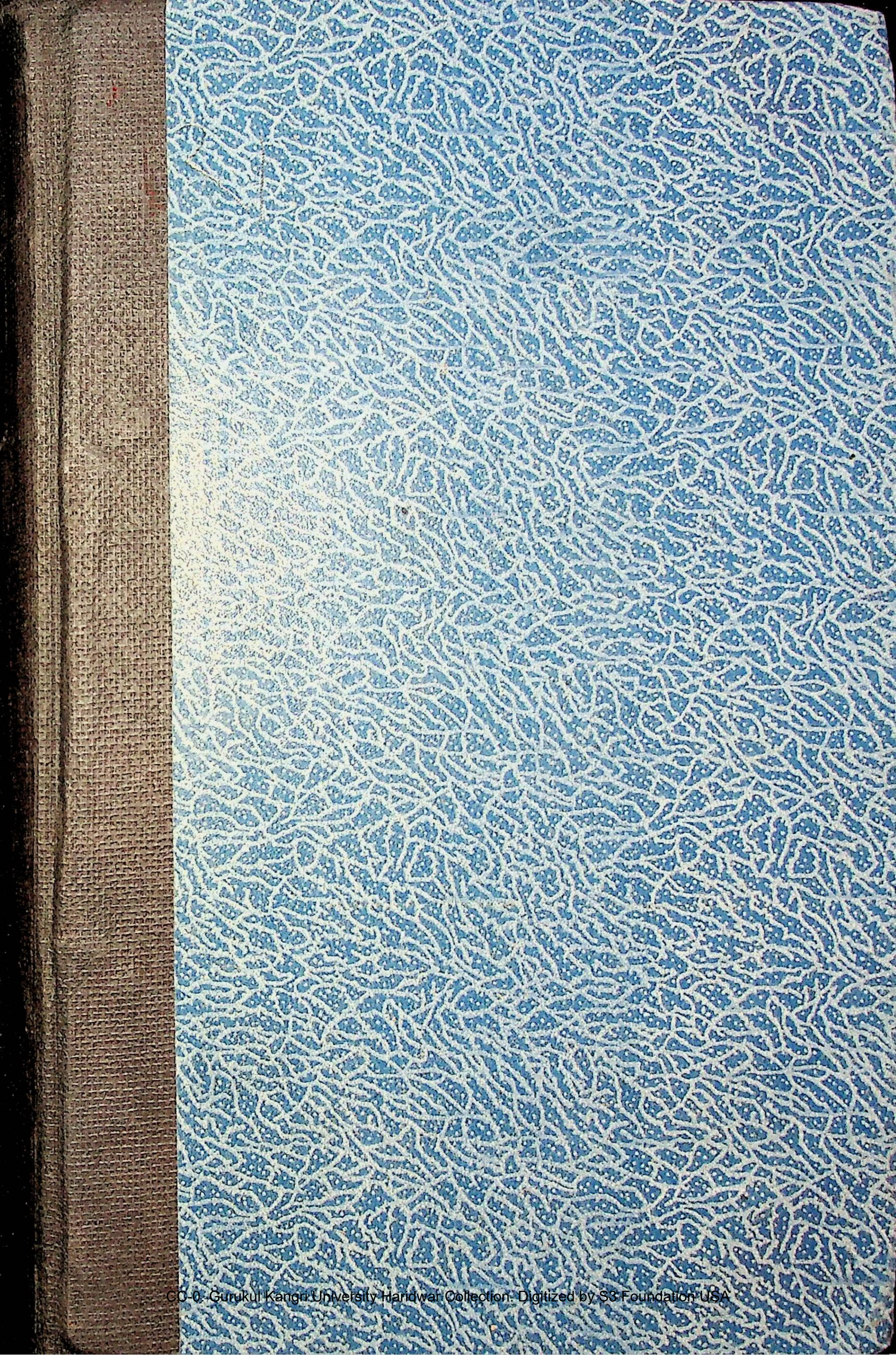


RISE AND PROGRESS

OF THE

BRITISH POWER IN INDIA.



By PETER AUBER, M.R.A.S.,

LATE SECRETARY TO THE HONOURABLE THE COURT OF DIRECTORS OF THE EAST-INDIA COMPANY.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

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LEADENHALL STREET.

1837.



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TO

THE QUEEN'S

MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY.

MADAM,

His late Most Gracious Majesty having been pleased to countenance this attempt to comprise, within a moderate compass, a political narrative of the Rise and Progress of the British Power in India, I was permitted to place in his Majesty's hands, in the month of May last, the first Volume of the present work.

Your Majesty having since been called by Providence to the Throne of these Realms, I beg humbly to lay before Your Majesty a

copy of the Work, the second Volume of which is now completed, and contains a brief review of the services of some of the most eminent Statesmen and Soldiers, and of the early achievements of YOUR MAJESTY's most illustrious General, in the acquisition of that Empire which has been described as one of the "brightest jewels in the British Crown."

That YOUR MAJESTY may long continue to reign over a free and a happy people, is the earnest prayer of

YOUR MAJESTY'S

Most dutiful and

Loyal Subject,

PETER AUBER.

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CHAPTER XVII.

EXPLANATION OF THE MAP.

In a map on so small a scale, it is impossible to give even a tolerable outline of the vast countries comprised in the kingdoms, either subject to, or in immediate alliance with, and also contiguous to the British territories.

The colours have been introduced for the purpose of indicating the possessions acquired under the respective Governors-general.

Red, those acquired by		Lord Clive.
Indian ink,	ditto	Mr. Hastings.
Blue,	ditto	Marquis Cornwallis.
Yellow,	ditto	Marquis Wellesley.
Brown,	ditto	Marquis Hastings.
Purple,	ditto	Earl Amherst.
Green,	ditto	Lord Wm. Bentinck.

From Cape Comorin to the Sutlej, and from Assam to the Indus, the British power may be said to be paramount. Advancing from the southernmost point:—Travancore is a subsidiary state; Mysore is under British administration; Sattara, the Nizam, and Berar, are all dependent upon the British power, by subsidy or otherwise.

Crossing to the north of the Nerbuddah, we enter Malwa, or Central India, a country comprising Guzerat and Bundlecund, with the various Rajpoot Princes. Originally under the Hindoo power, it became subject to that of the Mogul, until the invasion of the Mahrattas. The rivers Chumbul and Sinde running through the centre and falling into the Jumna. Passing the line of hills to the north-west of Oodeypoore, we enter Joudpore or Marwar, contiguous to which lie Biccaneer and Jessulmer, from whence we reach the territories of Bawhalpore, bounded by the rivers Indus and Garra, having the Protected Seik States to the north-east.



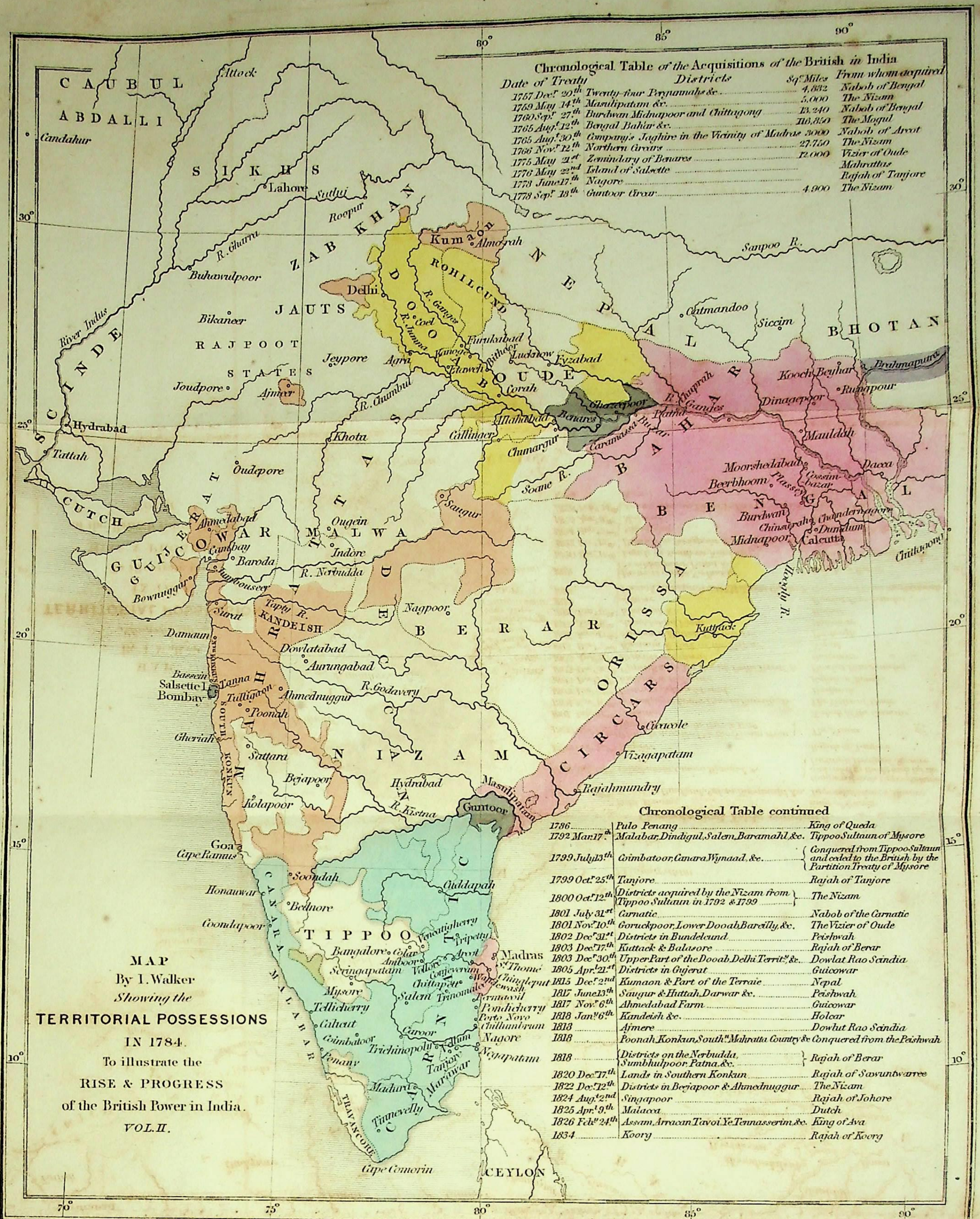
Chronological Table of the Acquisitions of the British in India

Date of Treaty	Districts	Sq. Miles	From whom acquired
1757 Decr. 20th	Twenty-four Pergunnahs &c.	4,832	Nabob of Bengal
1759 May 14th	Masulipatam &c.	5,000	The Nizam
1760 Sepr. 27th	Burdwan Midnapoor and Chittagong	13,240	Nabob of Bengal
1765 Augt. 12th	Bengal Bahar &c.	110,850	The Mogul
1765 Augt. 30th	Company's Jaghire in the Vicinity of Madras	3000	Nabob of Arcot
1766 Novr. 12th	Northern Circars	27,750	The Nizam
1775 May 21st	Zemindary of Benares	12,000	Vizier of Oude
1776 May 22nd	Island of Salsette		Mahrattas
1778 June 17th	Nagore		Rajah of Tanjore
1778 Sepr. 18th	Guntoor Circar	4,900	The Nizam

British Miles

	Poonah	Ougein	Oude	Nagpoor	Madras	Hydrabad	Delhi	Calcutta	Bombay	Benares	Agra
Benares											379
Bombay										1024	848
Calcutta									1277	460 / 565	839 / 944
Delhi								956 / 1061	934	496	117
Hydrabad							903	914	485	746	786
Madras						363	1306	1071	767	1109	1149
Nagpoor					684	321	622	702	575	425	505
Oude				486	1170	807	359	635 / 695	1013	130	283
Ougein			579	348	888	525	450	991	479	550	378
Poonah		445	947	501	669	387	913	1203	98	926	796
Seringapatam	525	856	1232	746	306	316	1330	1218	623	1171	1213

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1778 June 17th	Nagore		Rajah of Tanjore
1778 Sepr. 18th	Guntoor Circar	4,900	The Nizam

Chronological Table continued

Date	Districts	From whom acquired
1786	Pulo Penang	King of Queda
1792 Mar. 17th	Malabar, Dindigul, Salem, Baramahl &c.	Tippoo Sultaun of Mysore
1799 July 13th	Coimbatoor, Canara, Wynaad, &c.	Conquered from Tippoo Sultaun and ceded to the British by the Partition Treaty of Mysore
1799 Octr. 25th	Tanjore	Rajah of Tanjore
1800 Octr. 12th	Districts acquired by the Nizam from Tippoo Sultaun in 1792 & 1799	The Nizam
1801 July 31st	Carnatic	Nabob of the Carnatic
1801 Novr. 10th	Goruckpoor, Lower Dooab, Bareilly, &c.	The Vizier of Oude
1802 Decr. 31st	Districts in Bundelcund	Peishwah
1803 Decr. 17th	Kuttack & Balasore	Rajah of Berar
1803 Decr. 30th	Upper Part of the Dooab, Delhi Territy. &c.	Dowlat Rao Scindia
1805 Aprl. 21st	Districts in Gujerat	Guicowar
1815 Decr. 2nd	Kumaon & Part of the Terraie	Nepal
1817 June 13th	Saugur & Huttah, Darwar &c.	Peishwah
1817 Novr. 6th	Ahmedabad Farm	Guicowar
1818 Jany. 6th	Kandeish &c.	Holcar
1818	Ajmere	Dowlut Rao Scindia
1818	Poonah, Konkun, Southn. Mahratta Country &c.	Conquered from the Peishwah
1818	Districts on the Nerbudda, Sumbhulpoor, Patna, &c.	Rajah of Berar
1820 Decr. 17th	Lands in Southern Konkun	Rajah of Sawuntwarree
1822 Decr. 12th	Districts in Bejapoor & Ahmednuggur	The Nizam
1824 Augt. 2nd	Singapoor	Rajah of Johore
1825 Aprl. 9th	Malacca	Dutch
1826 Feby. 24th	Assam, Arracan, Tavoi, Ye, Tennasserim &c.	King of Ava
1834	Koorg	Rajah of Koorg



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RISE AND PROGRESS

OF THE

BRITISH POWER IN INDIA.

CHAPTER I.

1784.
Preliminary remarks to the introduction of Mr. Pitt's bill.

WE are now to consider the measure introduced by the Minister to Parliament in 1784, which drew so marked a line in the character of the East-India Company, and placed such an extensive power of control over the future exercise of their political functions.

It was supposed that sufficient authority to direct that branch of the Company's affairs had been vested in the Ministers of the Crown. But so little care had been paid in framing the enactments, or the powers of the Company were so little understood, that when the Crown had resolved upon a measure deemed essential to the safety and good government of India, in which measure the Court of Directors had concurred, the

1784. the very body whose powers it had been intended to limit effectually defeated the views both of the Crown and the Directors.

The new Parliament met on the 19th of May, and the speech from the throne contained the following passage :

King's speech. Whilst the affairs of the East-India Company form an object of deliberation deeply connected with the general interests of the country, whilst you feel a just anxiety to provide for the good government of our possessions in that part of the world, you will, I trust, never lose sight of the effect which any measures to be adopted for the purpose may have on our constitution, and on our dearest interests at home.

The Minister felt that he should act most wisely by introducing a measure which carried conviction to the mind of the Company, rather than press forward any plan by mere violence or power. The measure which he contemplated was intended to secure an effectual control in the hands of his Majesty's Ministers, as the constitutional executive of the country. As the attempt to grasp at patronage was the ground upon which the bill of Mr. Fox was thrown out, Mr. Pitt cautiously abstained from any apparent intention to acquire additional power from that source; and to strengthen the objections taken to the bill of 1783 he now alleged, that the rise or downfall of the Company was an event intimately connected with the vigour or decline of the British constitution,

constitution, although he admitted that no charter ought to stand in the way of a reform for the general good and safety of the country. 1784.

It was fortunate for the Company that their interests had been made a party question.

The objects to be provided for were, the securing the Company's *commerce* to the country, *peace* and tranquillity to the inhabitants of India, and *obedience* on the part of the Company's servants. To effect these objects an accession of power was essential, but where to lodge it in a mode the least liable to abuse, was the point to be decided.

The Minister did not propose a system absolutely new, but desired rather to improve the old.

From the extreme distance, which enhanced the difficulty of governing India, it was suggested that the accession of authority should rather be in that country where the executive power must be lodged than here: that the power to possess it should be active and on the spot, but still so constituted as to secure obedience to the measures dictated from home, and capable at the same time of preventing extortion abroad, and of frustrating all improper views of ambition or despotism; the patronage being separated from the executive or ministerial influence, and kept free from the hands of any political body of men whatever.

The powers possessed by the Secretaries of State had remained a dead letter, from other high and important duties which those officers had to

 perform.

1784.

perform: those powers were accordingly to be placed in the hands of a distinct Board. Its members were not to be permanently nominated, because such commission might be hostile to the administration, and a permanent body directing the India department of the state, independent of the existing administration, would be an evil. The members of the Board were to be privy councillors; and, to avoid any additional charge, they were to be selected from parties holding other high offices at the nomination of the Crown, with large emoluments and no great employment, whose leisure therefore would amply allow of their undertaking the office of Commissioner.

Their duties were to be purely political, and as they were to have no power of appointing to office, nor any patronage, there would consequently be no motive to deviate from public duty.

Bill brought in.

The Minister obtained leave to bring in his bill on the 2d of July. A copy with the blanks filled up being submitted to the Directors, they offered a series of remarks which merit attention, as they led to the introduction of some of the most important provisions of the act.

Remarks thereon by the Directors.

The bill provided that copies of all despatches which the Court of Directors might receive, should be transmitted to the Board.

The Court expressed in unequivocal terms, that it had been the Company's firm determination to reserve to themselves

selves the entire control of their trade, and only to give to Government a control respecting the civil or military government and revenues of India.

1784.

The bill left it to the Board to transmit, whenever they might see fit, to the Court, draughts of despatches for India, without waiting for any copies of despatches intended or proposed to be sent by the Court.

Court contend for powers to originate.

The Court observed, that whilst the government of the Company's possessions in India remained vested in the Company, and administered in their name, under any degree of control whatsoever, a power to *originate* orders and instructions could not be vested in any other body of men, consistently with the principle of such a government, or without at once annihilating the executive power of the Company. The power proposed to be left with the Board would not only destroy the principle before mentioned, but tend to introduce a doubt which of the two bodies would stand responsible for delay or negligence, and might become highly dangerous in times of political contest and unsteady administrations, when it might be very inexpedient that new men, just vested with authority to control the most important acts of the Company, should decide upon materials ill-digested, and without the aid of those reasons and explanations which a previous discussion, by men of experience, would always afford.

The bill vested in the Board a power to send *secret* orders to the Government in India, on any subject relating to the civil or military government, as well as respecting peace or war, and to withhold the knowledge of the same from the Court of

1784.

of Directors, as well as of the replies which might be received from India, as the Board might see fit.

The Court remarked, that powers given to the extent stated in the clause would, at one blow, annihilate the Company's government. They were ready to recommend to the Proprietors to consent to vest powers in his Majesty's Ministers to issue secret orders, such orders being *first communicated to*, and afterwards *transmitted through* the Secret Committee of the Court, concerning the levying of war or making of peace, or negociations respecting war and peace, to the several governments or presidencies in India, and binding those presidencies to obey the same, in like manner as if they had been issued by the Directors: but beyond this there was no case in which such power would be useful, but many in which it would be improper and dangerous; they specially observed, that the giving orders at any time, or on any subject, to the commander-in-chief of the Company's forces, otherwise than through the medium of the executive government of the presidency in which he serves, could hardly fail of producing the most dangerous convulsions in such government, and hazarding the Company's possessions in India.

Secret Committee.

The bill gave the King the absolute appointment of commander-in-chief, and also of the second in command, with something like independent authority.

Independent military power condemned.

The Court earnestly requested that the subordination of these officers to the supreme civil authority, of which they were *constituted members*, in all cases and under all circumstances whatsoever, might be ascertained by some clause in the bill, so as to obviate all future claims of any officer in

1784.

in his Majesty's service to an independent command or authority; the Court felt that the second in command being appointed by the Crown would be a great discouragement to the officers in the Company's service, as well as a heavy expense, and they therefore submitted whether the point might not be given up.

The power of recall was originally confined to the sign-manual, and withholden from the Directors.

Court contend for power of recall.

The Court contended, that the power of recalling every officer appointed by the Company was essential to the existence of their authority over their servants abroad, and that it ought not to be taken away.

The powers originally proposed to be given to the Supreme Government extended to making regulations for the subordinate presidencies, and to empower them to interfere in all matters connected with the internal administration of such settlements.

Court suggest to limit control of Bengal over subordinate Governments.

The Court observed, that the clause rendered the orders of the Bengal Government paramount to those which might have been sent out to the presidencies by the Court under the superintendence of the Board of Control, which it was presumed could not be intended, and that an exception ought to be introduced accordingly. They considered that it would be improper to subject presidencies so distant as those of Madras and Bombay to the interference of the Bengal Government in the interior detail of their administration. Such a regulation *would reduce those presidencies to mere subordinate factories*, and deprive them of all that respect and energy which in many instances, it might be

very

1784.

very necessary for the public welfare that they should possess and exercise, in instances where the Bengal Government was precluded by its distant situation from an efficient interference. The Court submitted, whether it might not be better to confine the control of the Bengal Government to matters relating to war and peace, and the application of their resources in time of war, and transactions with the country powers, provided the orders of the Court should not have previously been given thereon.

If it was meant to give legislative authority to the Bengal Government in matters relating to the interior police and administration of the affairs of the other presidencies, it was submitted that the same regulations could by no means apply to the manners or circumstances of the different places, and that all such legislative regulations should *be digested and proposed by the respective presidents and councils:* and whether the final sanction thereto might not more usefully be reserved to the home authorities, than vested in the government of Bengal.

The provision for presents being brought to account was enlarged at the suggestion of the Court, so as to include ceremonial presents. The bill precluded absolutely the reappointment of any person who had been absent five years from India.

Court suggest that parties should be allowed to return to India after five years' absence.

The Court readily admitted the salutary tendency of the restriction; but they recollected cases in which it had been highly expedient, and might again be expedient, to send out, in cases of emergency, men of eminent merit, reputation, and services: and they therefore suggested whether power should not be lodged somewhere, upon the application of the Company, to dispense with that regulation.

Provision

1784.

Provision was made for establishing a jurisdiction, for the trial of offences committed in India, more effectually than proceeding by common law, for prosecuting and bringing to speedy and condign punishment persons guilty of extortion or other misdemeanour.

The Court were of opinion that it was more particularly an object of attention for the Legislature at large than for the Directors, who felt the odium that would attend any interposition they might presume to offer against the particular clauses in the bill respecting delinquents, by it being alleged that they were unwilling to assist in establishing any effectual mode for punishing the servants of the Company offending.

On the clauses which related to the Nabob of Arcot and the Rajah of Tanjore, the Court submitted that their power, under the superintendence of the Board of Control, would be adequate to the settlement of those affairs; and they entertained great doubt whether the clauses would answer the purpose intended.

Court's suggestions generally adopted.

The greater portion of the suggestions thrown out by the Directors were adopted by the Minister, and sanctioned by Parliament.

Board of Control established.

The Act of the 24th George III. cap. 25, which was founded on this bill, formed a new era in the Indian system. The Board of Commissioners was first established, and invested "with a superintendance and control over all the British territorial possessions in India, and over the affairs of the Company in England." They were authorized and

1784.

Their powers.

and empowered to direct and control all acts, operations, and concerns, which in any way related to the civil or military government or revenues in India. The members of the Board were to have access to all papers and muniments of the Company, and to be furnished with copies or extracts thereof as they might require.

Copies of the proceedings of the Courts of Proprietors and Directors were to be sent to the Board within eight days after the holding of such Courts. Proposed despatches were to be sent up to the Board for approval, and to be returned, approved or altered, within fourteen days: and, for the readier despatch of the civil and military concerns of the Company, whenever the Court of Directors failed to forward to the Board, within fourteen days after requisition, any despatch on a subject connected with the civil or military government or revenues, the Board might frame and direct the transmission thereof to India.

The Secret Committee was first established. They were required to send to India, in duplicate, such despatches as they might receive from the Board; and answers from the governments in India were to be forwarded to the Board through the Court of Directors, who remained ignorant of their contents. The government of Bengal was to consist of *three* councillors instead of *four*, and the *commander-in-chief was to be the second member*.

The

1784.

The presidencies of *Madras* and *Bombay* were first established as governments. The Governor-general and Governors were to have the casting vote in council. The King might remove or recall any British subject holding office under the Company in India.

All vacancies, with the exception of Governor-general, Governors, and Commanders-in-chief, were to be filled up from amongst the covenanted servants of the Company. If the Court of Directors neglected to supply vacancies within two months from the notification of such vacancies being received by the Court, his Majesty might supply the same, and the party appointed was then subject to recall by the King only. Orders or resolutions, when agreed upon by the Court of Directors and Board of Commissioners, were not revokable by the Court of Proprietors.

The Supreme Government was to control the other governments. Schemes of conquest were declared to be repugnant to the wish, honour, and policy of the nation; and the Governor-general was not to make war against any Indian power, except hostilities shall have been commenced, or preparation made for such, against the British power. The Governors, &c. of the subordinate presidencies were liable to be suspended from office by the Governor-general. The Court of Directors were required to take into consideration all the establishments in India, with the view to every

1784. every possible reduction ; and a list of all offices in the civil and military establishments of the Company, with the emoluments of such, was to be laid before Parliament within fourteen days after the commencement of each session. Officers and servants of the Company were to be promoted in regular succession ; where the rule was deviated from, the Government were to record the reasons fully on the minutes and proceedings of Council.

Company's servants dismissed by any competent courts were not to be restored ; and they were required, on returning from India, to make a disclosure of all their property upon oath.

The Governor-general in Council might issue warrants for seizing persons suspected of illicit correspondence. The rights of the Company and Crown as to the territorial acquisitions were again reserved.

Powers of Proprietors limited by Act.

The Proprietors had hitherto taken an active part in almost every question, whether connected with the foreign or domestic affairs of the Company. They had conferred and revoked appointments of governors, councillors, and commanders-in-chief. The commissions of Government were also submitted to their approval. They restored servants who had been suspended or dismissed for improper and reprehensible conduct, and passed resolutions staying prosecutions instituted by order of the Directors against their servants. They relieved commanders from penalties incurred for flagrant breaches

1784.

breaches of trust and gross dereliction of duty: and had frequently defeated measures recommended by the Court of Directors as essential to the well-being of the Company's interests, and to the support of their authority in India.

It was accordingly declared that no order or resolution of the Court of Directors, touching the points of government contained in the Act, should be liable to be rescinded, suspended, revoked, or varied by any General Court of the said Company, after the same had been approved by the Board of Commissioners.

Act of 1786 to amend Act of 1784, and allow of Commander-in-chief and Governor-general being held by one person.

In 1786, the Act of the 26th Geo. III. cap. 16, was passed, for the purpose of amending certain provisions contained in the Act of the 24th Geo. III. It confirmed several appointments (made by the Court of Directors) of persons then resident in Europe, to be councillors, and ordained that, in future, no persons should be appointed to council under twelve years' service. It also repealed so much of the 24th Geo. III. as ordained that the commander-in-chief should be second member of council, and left it *at the option of the Court of Directors to appoint him to such office.* It empowered the Court, should they see fit, to unite in one person the offices of governor-general and commander-in-chief. These special provisions had reference to the appointment of Lord Cornwallis, and appear to have been framed without due consideration to the effect that might be produced

1786. produced by the option being left, when the two offices were not united in the same party. It conferred on the governor-general and governors the power to act, in certain cases, without the concurrence of their respective councils, and all orders of Government were to be expressed as made by the governor-general, or the governor in council. It regulated the emoluments to be derived by civil servants according to length of service: and it provided that the members of the Secret Committee, established by the Act of 1784, should be sworn.

The additional powers conferred on the governor-general were strongly opposed by Parliament as arbitrary and despotic; but were supported on the ground that cases of emergency might arise in which it would be of the last importance to the interests of India that the governor-general should have such power, and it was asked how arbitrary government depended more upon one person governing than two. If the party were invested with greater power, his responsibility was proportionably increased, whilst he had also his council to advise with, and they were always about him as checks, and a control on his conduct.

It was admitted (an admission that spoke strongly in favour of the plea urged by Mr. Hastings, of the inefficiency of his power when governor-general), that most of the mischiefs which had arisen

1786.

arisen for years past in India, had been caused entirely from the effect of party principles indulged in by the members of the respective councils, and the factious scenes which those different councils presented. Two other acts were passed in the same year (26 Geo. III. cap. 25), declaring that his Majesty's approbation was not necessary to the appointment by the Court of Directors of governor-general, governors, and members of council. The other amending the provisions of the Act of 1784, for appointing a distinct court of judicature to be chosen in each session of Parliament, for the trial of persons accused of offences committed in India. A clause was also inserted, declaring that offences against the Company's exclusive right of trade, which could only be tried at Westminster, might be tried in the East-Indies. Persons whose licenses of residence had expired, were to be subject to the same penalties as unlicensed persons, and power was vested in the governments to seize unlicensed persons and ships.

Wisdom of the Company in yielding to proposed measures.

We may learn from these proceedings on the India Question, that the rulers of a country are both wise and prudent in yielding a judicious and timely acquiescence in measures indispensable for repairing the defects occasioned by the inroads of time

1786. time on its institutions, or for remedying the evils which experience has shown to exist, in the working of any given system.

Mr. Pitt, both before and after he became a cabinet minister, brought forward the question of Parliamentary Reform. The last occasion shortly followed the decision on the India Question. He then declared that his object was to introduce a moderate reform, to remedy defects which threatened to destroy the most beautiful fabric of government in the world. He stated, that "the House of Commons itself had been base enough to feed the influence that fed its members, and he regretted to perceive a band of gentlemen presenting a hostile phalanx, who with a sort of superstitious awe revered the constitution so much as to be fearful of touching even its defects."—The Minister had himself adduced, in the progress of the very measure he had just carried through Parliament, one of the strongest proofs of the necessity for reform, *viz.* the existence of individuals of rank drawing large incomes from the country from mere sinecure offices. His propositions were nevertheless rejected, and we have lived to see the representative system far more extensively reformed than was proposed in 1785; and by some persons it is even considered to have been profusely reformed. The prudent course pursued by the East-India Company secured to them the possession of their exclusive commercial privileges,

privileges, and their regulated political functions for the further period of half a century.

1786.

The newly constituted Board evinced a determination to become an efficient and responsible instrument. The Commissioners immediately called upon the Court of Directors to furnish an account of all the establishments in India, and of the increase therein, with the authority for the same. They particularly adverted to the revenue departments, and to the charge incurred in securing the collections of revenue, and stated that they made these requisitions under a sense of the trust reposed in them by Parliament, of a regard for the public weal, and for the good government of India. The interests of individuals, with respect to their incomes, demanded a full examination into the propriety of the retrenchments that had been proposed, as well as whether others could be properly and fairly made. In alluding to the military, the Board observed, "With regard to a soldier, the first principle is to take care that he never have just cause of complaint; if he be not warranted in a grievance, he is easily restrained; but the case is very different when originating in injustice."

Efficiency of the Board of Control who act up to their powers.

Call for accounts and statement of establishments.

They called for a statement of the Committees appointed by the Court of Directors, the respective duties of such Committees, and the number of the officers on the Home establishment, with a statement of the duties which they had to perform.

 As

1786.
Revision of establishments abroad.

As respected India, the instructions to the Bengal Government enforced a system of economy and revision of establishments, as recognised by the Act. The whole of the official arrangements were left to the Government, whose conduct in the reductions already introduced, as announced in their letter to the Court of January 1785, were fully approved. An adequate military establishment was to be maintained. To promote the success of military operations, the corps at the three presidencies of Bengal, Madras, and Bombay, were to be so formed as to enable them to take the field at the shortest notice; and, to act with effect whenever they might happen to be united, one uniform system was to be introduced. The corps of every denomination at each of the presidencies were to be of the same strength in point of officers, non-commissioned officers, and privates; the number and strength of the respective regiments and species of force were to be likewise fixed, from which no deviation was to be made without express orders from home.

The civil officers of the Government might have been reduced to a very small number, had the exigency alone determined the list of covenanted servants. It consisted of no less than 252 members, many of them the sons of the first families in the kingdom of Great Britain, and every one aspiring to the rapid acquisition of lacs, and to return to pass the prime of their lives at home, as multitudes

1786.

multitudes had done before them. "The revenue of the country," it was observed, "would not suffice for such boundless pretensions, nor were those pretensions compatible with the interests of the nation, or those of the Company, which might suffer as certain ruin from the effects of private competition and the claims of patronage, as from the more dreaded calamities of war, or the other ordinary causes which lead to the decline of dominion. In one word, we enjoin you to allow no such embarrassing reflection to occupy your thoughts on the consideration of your establishments. Your sole rule is to be, the exigency of the public service, and you are not to continue upon the establishment of any one department any one officer, or any one salary, not warranted by the real exigency of the service." The principle of gradation, where not absolutely prejudicial to the public service, was to be observed. As many duties could be performed by monthly writers equally well, and at infinitely less expense, than by European servants, it was desired that if such were the foundation of the number of monthly writers then in employment, the principle should be acted upon. It will be perceived no half measures were contemplated by the foregoing orders, and that the newly constituted authorities determined to follow the principles recognised by Parliament, for relieving the revenues of India from all unnecessary charges.

1786.
Institution of public Boards in India.

To simplify the mode of carrying on the public business, and to avoid the practice of sending home despatches of an interminable length, and each letter or despatch containing various heads, certain Boards were to be formed, under the denomination of—

1. The Board of Council.
2. A Military Board.
3. A Board of Revenue.
4. A Board of Trade.

The first to comprise in its correspondence the matters coming under the provision of the Board of Control, as well as all political matters.

The *Military Board* was to possess no power or authority exclusive of and independent of the supreme civil government. It was in all respects to act under the Government, and through the medium of their authority.

The *Board of Revenue* was formed for the purpose of superintending, under the orders of the Government, that branch of the public service designated by its appointment. Various plans had been ineffectually devised, during the preceding fifteen years, for the collection of the revenues. The new Board was to reside at Calcutta, and to consist of one of the junior members of council, without any addition to his salary, and four other of the most intelligent of the Company's servants, to whom the whole administration, settlement, and collection of every branch of the revenue

1786.

revenue was to be confided. It was to possess no power to issue money, and expectation was expressed that the extent of charge on account of the revenue department, would be confined within seventy-two lacs, or about £700,000 to £800,000 per annum.

As an essential part of the conduct of that Board would be connected with a steady adherence to just and uniform principles in its transactions with the zemindars and other landholders, the Home authorities apprized the Government that they had bestowed much time with the view of introducing a final settlement. Despatches from the Court to the Governments abroad were in future to be addressed in the

Public,
Secret,
Military,
Revenue, and
Commercial

departments; the same principle being observed in India when writing home.

Declaration against conquests or wars of ambition.

In addition to a general revision of establishments, the Act of 1784 had peculiar reference to the repression of all attempts at conquest, or wars of ambition and aggrandisement, it being declared by the Act that "to pursue schemes of conquest, and extension of dominion in India, are measures repugnant to the wish, the honour, and the policy of the nation." In connexion with this

declaration

1784. declaration is the singular fact, that with the exception of the cessions agreed to by the Mogul in 1764, of the country of Ghazeepore, and the rest of the zemindary of Bulwunt Sing, which was stipulated for on the part of the Council, to defray the expenses of the war caused by the advance of the Mogul and the vizier, Shuja Dowlah, all the Company's territorial possessions acquired up to 1784, including the Dewanny in 1765, with Salsette and Bassein, had been effected by amicable grant or cession. Not a begah* of land had been gained by conquest during the government of Mr. Hastings.

Carnatic debts. To promote a settlement with the Nabob of the Carnatic, a letter was addressed to his highness in December 1784, expressive of the Court's concern at the difference that had arisen between his highness and Lord Macartney. In proof of the high esteem in which the Court of Directors held his lordship, they acquainted his highness that they had re-appointed him to the government of Madras. He was then apprised of the establishment of the Board of Control, under the authority of an Act of Parliament, by which appointment all the transactions of the Court became immediately connected with the executive authorities and government of the British nation; and that, consequently, the present, and every other communication the Court might henceforth address to his

* The third of an acre.

his highness, would be with the knowledge and concurrence of the Board of Control, whose sentiments the Court stated they spoke jointly with their own; and that, consequently, the honour, not only of the Company, but the faith of the British nation, was pledged to preserve inviolate every stipulation or agreement that should take place between the Company and his highness. He was then advised, that the same solemn act had made provision for settling upon a permanent foundation the rights and pretensions of his highness, and those of the Rajah of Tanjore, which were to be ascertained and settled upon the terms and stipulations of the treaty of 1762. The restitution of the assignment of the revenues of the Carnatic made in 1781, was then adverted to in the following terms: "With respect to the assignment your highness was pleased to make of the revenues of your country in December 1781, we consider that transaction as a proof of your highness being impressed with the necessity of the defence of the Carnatic; but having by the cession of the assignment, manifested to your highness, and to all India, how little we wished to encroach on the rights or possessions of the native princes, it is just we take effectual care to guard our own. By the peculiar relation which the British Government and possessions in the Carnatic bear to those of your highness and the Rajah of Tanjore, as well as by several specific agreements, the

1784. the *sword* for the general defence of that country is placed in our hands, and no consideration will induce us for a moment to surrender it. Towards its support in peace and defence in war, it is reasonable that country should contribute to its protection. The provisional assignment of certain districts is therefore required, only to be entered upon in the event of your highness, or your descendants, not paying the monthly contribution to be agreed upon, regularly."

The necessary orders to the Government of Madras were at the same time forwarded, for making restitution of the assignment. Against the measure for settling the Nabob's debts, as proposed by the Board, the Directors made an earnest but ineffectual remonstrance. The subject was also taken up in Parliament. The bill of 1783 had a clause in it providing for the examination of the debts of the Nabob. The Act of 1784 declared the expediency of sending out orders for completing the investigation, and discharging the debts. Their character was more than questionable—their amount enormous. It was remarked, that what corrupt men in the fond imagination of a sanguine avarice had not the confidence to propose, they found a minister of England hardy enough to undertake for them. Touched with pity for bribery, so long tormented with a fruitless itching of its palms, his bowels yearned for usury that had long missed the harvest of

of its returning months: and by the proposed mode of settling the claims of extortion, the public and private debts were made to play into each other's hands—a game of utter perdition to the unhappy natives of India. At the expiration of half a century from this interference, a final adjudication has been made under the Carnatic commission, appointed by deed in 1805 by Parliamentary sanction; the result being the admission of only two millions, out of claims amounting to thirty-two millions sterling!

1784.

Such is an outline of the most important measures connected with the introduction of what is generally termed the India system; the institution of the Board of Commissions, the remodelling of the Supreme Government, the formation of the new governments of Madras and Bombay, the revision of the Indian establishments, and the arrangements relating to the Nabob of the Carnatic and the Rajah of Tanjore. Those connected with the revenue and judicial systems will be noticed on the appointment of a Governor-general under the provisions of the Acts of 1784 and 1786.

CHAPTER II.

1785.
Bengal.
Proceedings after retirement of Mr. Hastings.

To preserve a correct chain of events connected with the measures of the Supreme Government, it is now necessary to revert to those which followed the succession of Mr. Macpherson to the office of Governor-general, on the retirement of Mr. Hastings.

Ambition of Madajee Scindiah.

The Shazada remained at Lucknow. Mr. Anderson, whose meritorious conduct in concluding the peace with the Mahrattas had received the unanimous thanks of the General Court, was appointed Resident with the Mogul, then at the camp of Madajee Scindiah, to whom Agra had surrendered on the 27th of March. That chieftain proceeded with the Mogul on his way to Delhi, but stopped at Mutra for the purpose of reconnoitring the fortress of Allyghur, which he found strongly fortified, and victualled for twelve months. At this period Mr. Anderson apprized the Government that a person in the character of a merchant had come to his moolavee, and after offering to sell him some cloths, represented that he

Overture from the Seiks.

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Bengal.

he had some jewels to show him in private. On their retiring for the purpose, he discovered himself to be a confidential servant of Dooljah Singh, the Seik chieftain, who had lately arrived in the camp. He stated that his master was desirous of forming a friendship and connexion with the English, as he entertained great apprehensions of the Mahrattas, and that a body of thirty thousand Seiks had arrived between Panniput and Delhi. The part which Madajee Scindiah had taken in promoting a peace between the British Government and the Mahrattas in 1782,* and his subsequent appointment as deputy to the Paishwa, in the high office of Vakeel-ul-mulluk, had raised his pretensions in the eyes of the native chiefs, and led him not only to expostulate against the appointment of a British Resident with the Paishwa, but to observe such a bearing towards Mr. Anderson as induced that gentleman to prepare for quitting the Mahratta camp: a resolution which he only consented to abandon on the Mahratta chief disavowing the most distant idea of treating him uncourteously, Scindiah at the same time declaring, "by my sword I have no intention of war."

Mr. Malet appointed Resident at Poonah.

Mr. Malet,† of the Bombay civil service, was selected by the Supreme Government for the office of Resident at Poonah. He received instructions to repair to Calcutta for the purpose of conferring on the

* *Vide* vol. i. page 621.

† Afterwards Sir Charles Malet, Bart.

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BENGAL.

the general state of Mahratta politics. Influenced by a desire to extend the geographical knowledge of Hindostan already possessed by the Company, he proceeded by the route of Oojeen, a tract then unknown to European travellers, where he arrived on the 10th of April, having left Bombay on the 27th of January preceding, without encountering any difficulty or meeting with the slightest impediment: a progress, however, which would be considered somewhat tedious at the present day, for a distance of 479 miles. He described Oojeen as erroneously laid down by Rennell. After giving an account of the fort of Bheroodghur, about two miles distant from Oojeen, he proceeded a mile and a-half further, where he discovered a very large gloomy edifice of peculiar strength, and still in very good repair, erected on an artificial island, formed for the purpose by a diversion of the stream of the Sessera, and connected with the western bank by a bridge of sixteen arches. In the western stream, which he considered to be an artificial one were a surprising multitude of various apartments, constructed on a level with the water, and in the midst of it, the water being conveyed round them in various channels into reservoirs contrived for its reception, whence it was conveyed by proper inlets from the bed of the river, into which it was again discharged by little artificial cascades. It was stated to have been built by Sultan Nasic-ul-deen-Gighee, who ascended the throne of Malwa in

Visits Oojeen.

Ancient water palace.

1785.
Bengal.

in the year of the Hijrah 905, and reigned eleven years. He was represented as cruel and oppressive; he had contracted an intolerable heat in his habit by eating fixed quicksilver, and found so much relief within these watery abodes from their coolness, that he spent the whole of his time there, where he also carried on the business of his government. The works were stated to be three hundred years old.

In addition to this relation, which from the circumstance of its being the first European who had taken the route, is a sufficient matter of interest to warrant notice, the table which Mr. Malet formed for giving a description of the country he passed through, offers an useful suggestion to other travellers in unexplored or comparatively unknown regions.

Date.	From what place.	Coss.	Nature of Road.	Whose Territory.

Quality, Place.	Accommodation.	Treatment.	Remarks.

Under these several heads he entered his diary, which has been placed upon record.

Mr. Anderson discovers a canal at Allahabad.

Mr. Anderson, writing to the Council* at Calcutta from Allahabad, described the Company's armies as having for a series of years crossed and recrossed a canal cut from the Jumna, which includes

* 8th May 1785.

1785. BENGAL.

cludes the town and fortress of Allahabad, without its being known that such a communication existed. "During the last few days I was at that quarter, I casually lit, to my utter astonishment, upon this canal, which Shujah Dowla caused to be excavated in 1764, either to obstruct the enterprises of the approaching English, or to impede the invasion of the Abdallees, of both of which he was then apprehensive. Of all the strongholds I have met with in India, Allahabad appears to be the best calculated for a provisionary magazine, for a military station for our frontier troops, and for their retreat in case of any untoward event. Possessing this, our forces would become little liable to check or repulse."

Tippoo Sultaun's cruelty to Mahrattas.

It appeared by a report from Madajee Scindiah, that a rupture was expected between Tippoo and the Mahrattas. Tippoo had behaved in a most oppressive and insulting manner, forcibly converting fifty thousand Hindoos in the Mahratta territory, and had murdered two thousand Brahmins of a particular caste, many of whom were subjects of the Mahratta Government, whilst many others had put themselves to death to escape his vengeance. Scindiah referred to the treaty of Salbey,† under which he stated that he was sure of the co-operation of the Nizam against Tippoo.

Mr. Malet reached the camp of Scindiah, *via* Agra,

* *Vide* vol. i. page 621.

† Bengal Consultations, May 1785.

1785.

Mr. Malet at Scindiah's camp.

Agra, on the 17th May, where he met Mr. Anderson with two chiefs and a large party of Madajee's cavalry. On the 20th, the ceremonial being settled, he paid his formal visit to Scindiah, who manifested an indisposition to receive him in the character of Resident at Poonah.

Mahratta power and politics.

The Mahratta chief was connected with the Company by a double tie: first as a distinct ally by a separate treaty; and next, as a member of the Mahratta empire, and as such was included in the general alliance with that state. It was, therefore, deemed most extraordinary that he should wish to confine all communication with Poonah through himself. If, as a member of the Mahratta empire, and in that character as mediator of the peace, he meant to engross the whole of the English negotiations at eight hundred miles from the scene of business, it was felt to be absurd; exclusive of the impossibility of submitting to dictation by a member of the Mahratta government, or of encountering his prejudices, passions, and jealousies, and numberless intrigues; besides pampering the ambition, and promoting the grandeur of a chieftain, already too powerful.

The character of prime minister to the Rajah of the Deccan and the King of Hindostan, rested with the members of the Mahratta state, under which strange junction of power was united the absolute and executive management of the Mogul and Mahratta empires. From the force of the one,

1785.
BENGAL.

one, and the claims of the other, every thing was to be apprehended by the Company and their allies. This extraordinary concentration of power and title not only laid the Company's own possessions open to vexatious demands, or absolute resumption at a convenient season, by the Mogul, but the safety of their allies rested on the will and power of the Mahrattas, who from the rapacious turn of their politics were not likely to be slow in their operations, especially under such a chief as Scindiah, who, in his new character of Vakeel-ul-mulluk, would partake of the largest benefit derived by any new acquisition. Moreover, the intercourse between Poonah and Bombay, and their dependencies, was so frequent, and the causes of complaint and demands for reparation were so numerous, that individuals were frequently subjected to great loss, and the Company's flag to discredit, through the want of proper and authoritative representations. Upon these grounds, it was determined to maintain a resident at Poonah.

1785.
MADRAS.
Nabob of the Carnatic.

The letter addressed by the Directors to the Nabob of the Carnatic, in December 1784, has been noticed.* The instructions to the Madras Government for the surrender of the assignment to the Nabob reached that presidency in June,

Lord Macartney resigns.

in which month Lord Macartney wrote to the Court, that his health had been so affected by repeated attacks of the gout, as to determine him to proceed

* *Vide* page 22.

1785. MADRAS.

proceed to Europe, that he had been strengthened in that determination by the Court's orders, and by the appointment of Mr. Holland as his successor, and that he could be no party to carry into effect the instructions for the restoration, which he felt to be impolitic and unwise.

The Madras Council intimated to the Court, that they had made it a particular request to Lord Macartney that he would proceed to Bengal, for the purpose of representing that Soucar* security could never be obtained from the Nabob for the fulfilment of his engagements. The new demands on his revenue greatly exceeding his receipts.

The pleasure of the Court was, however, made known by Lord Macartney to the Nabob, with an expression of their confidence in his highness's wisdom and honour for the performance of those solemn engagements which were to take place in consequence of the surrender of the assignment. His lordship took the opportunity to offer his wishes for the Nabob's prosperity, and for a happy continuance of the blessings he had so long enjoyed under the powerful protection of the Company and of the English nation.

Lord Macartney was impressed with an idea that the Court's orders implied a want of confidence in him; he, nevertheless, consented to meet the wishes of the Council, and proceed to Bengal in his way to

* Merchant, banker, or money-lender.

1785.
MADRAS

to England, to endeavour, by a personal representation of the state of affairs at Madras, to draw such a decided and effectual support from the Supreme Government, as should be adequate to the relief of its embarrassments. His lordship stated, "This offer proceeds solely from a wish to employ my services in any way that may be acceptable or useful, to the very last moment of my stay in India. I have no other concern which could induce me to visit Bengal, and particularly at this unhealthy season of the year; but if the Board should be of opinion otherwise, I shall proceed in the *Glatton*, now under despatch for England."*

The Nabob addressed the Bengal Government in the following terms, on receiving the intelligence regarding the assignment:—

"In what words shall I declare my acknowledgments to my friends for this mark of their justice, and how shall I express the obligations I am under to the Governor-general Hastings, to you, and to the rest of the Council in Bengal."

Lord Macartney visits Bengal.

Lord Macartney embarked in the *Greyhound* sloop of war for Calcutta, where he arrived in June, being received with every mark of honour by the Governor-general, to whom he repeated his conviction of the injurious tendency of the surrender of the assignment. The Bengal Council, after the maturest deliberation, and notwithstanding the great

* Madras Communications, 27th May 1785.

1785. MADRAS.

great force of the arguments urged by his lordship, felt that they could not, consistently with the advices from home and a proper discharge of their duty, suspend the execution of the Court's orders.

Preliminary articles of agreement were accordingly entered into between the Nabob and the Government, at the head of which was Mr. Davidson, who succeeded Lord Macartney.

The Nabob was to pay on account of the current charges, four lacs of pagodas per annum ; and twelve lacs on account of his debts to the Company and private creditors. Certain districts were given as security for the payment, in failure whereof the Company might possess themselves of such districts.*

Declines office of Governor-general.

During Lord Macartney's stay in Bengal, a letter from the Court of Directors † had been received at Madras and forwarded to Calcutta, where it arrived on the 1st of August ; on the 3d of which month the Governor-general received a despatch from the Court, advising the Supreme Government that Mr. Hastings having in his letter of the 20th March 1783 ‡ signified his desire that a successor should be nominated, they had appointed Lord Macartney to succeed as governor-general. Having taken into consideration the long, faithful, and able services of Mr. Hastings, the Court unanimously resolved that he be permitted to

* Printed Treaties, page 397. † 10th March 1785.

‡ *Vide* vol. i. page 644.

1785 to resign the government of Bengal. They did not fix any particular day for his quitting the government, but directed that he should take the first convenient opportunity in the ensuing season, commencing in October, to return to Europe. Instructions had been sent to Lord Macartney to hold himself in readiness to proceed to Bengal immediately after Mr. Hastings' departure. The senior member of the Supreme Council was to lose no time in conveying to Lord Macartney the earliest intimation of that event.

The Court had not anticipated that the departure of Mr. Hastings would have taken place, an event which was announced in his letter of January.* Mr. Macpherson, as senior councillor, had already succeeded.

A certified copy of the Court's letter was accordingly transmitted to Lord Macartney by the Supreme Government. His lordship did not acknowledge its receipt until the 13th August, after he had embarked: when he addressed to the Government the following reply:—

"So distinguished a mark of honour conferred upon me by the Court of Directors, being entirely spontaneous, without any solicitation from me or my friends, I must ever set a high value upon; but I have many reasons, which, I flatter myself, will be satisfactory to the Court, why I wish at present to decline entering upon this government. Very

* *Vide* vol. i. page 688.

Very early after my arrival, I stated, that were I appointed, it was not my intention to remain in India. My reasons were then strong, they are now stronger.

1785.

"On board the *Swallow*,
"13th August 1785."

1786.

Lord Macartney arrives in England. Thanked and granted a pension. Duel with General Stuart.

Lord Macartney arrived in London on the 9th of January 1786, and on the following day he received a communication from Major-general Stuart,* with extracts from a petition he had presented to the King, in which he complained "of the falsehood and injustice of Lord Macartney." His lordship replied on the 11th, intimating that "if General Stuart had any drift not expressed, he is desired to make it known, in direct terms, through any gentleman by whom he may choose to convey it to Lord Macartney, who will take no notice of communications in any other manner, from General Stuart." On the 12th, General Stuart stated, the drift of his original note was to remind Lord Macartney of the atrocious injuries and injustice done to him; that he was happy to find the consequences had occurred to his lordship, and that he would be ready to meet them; and requested that, in the interval, this settled conclusion might remain secret.

His lordship's services, and his honourable conduct,

* The proceedings of that officer, and the measures of the Madras Government in consequence, will be found in vol. i. pages 632 to 638.

1786. duct, in giving in a statement of the fortune he had acquired during his residence in India, although not required by the Act, received the marked approbation of the Court of Proprietors, who passed a Resolution on the 12th April 1786, declaratory of his lordship's having, upon all occasions, manifested the greatest zeal in support of the interests of the Company; and that he faithfully discharged his duty as governor of Madras, more especially by his adhering strictly to his covenants and engagements with the Company, in declining to accept any present from the country powers, or from any person whatever in India. In order to mark the fullest approbation of such upright and disinterested conduct, the Company granted his lordship an annuity of £1,500.

It was not until the 27th May that Lord Macartney heard further from General Stuart. In the evening of that day, on his lordship's return from the Opera, he found a note from Colonel Gordon, wishing to see him when convenient. His lordship waited on that officer the following day, at twelve, when a packet was delivered to him from General Stuart, containing "A statement of facts." His lordship intimated that he would meet the General with great alacrity, but wished to have a few days to settle some private concerns. On the 8th June a meeting took place near Kingston. His lordship and General Stuart fired together. The former was attended by Colonel Fullarton,

1786.

Fullarton, the latter by Colonel Gordon; accompanied by Messrs. Hunter and Home, the celebrated surgeons. The seconds observed that Lord Macartney was wounded: General Stuart said, "this is not satisfaction," and asked if his lordship could not fire, Lord Macartney replied, he would try with pleasure, and urged Colonel Fullarton to proceed. The affair was, however, happily terminated, in this stage of the proceeding. It was the second in which his lordship had been involved, the former having taken place at Madras, with Mr. Sadlier, a member of council, on which occasion Lord Macartney was also wounded. Mr. Macpherson had likewise been called out by Major Brown, on the Bengal establishment, for some offence taken to Mr. Macpherson's proceedings, in his station as governor-general.

Directors' resolution against duelling.

The frequency of these events, induced the Court of Directors to pass an unanimous resolution, reprobating the practice, and determining to dismiss from the Company's service every party who should presume to make any personal call upon members of the Government, or other officers, on account of matters arising out of the discharge of their official duties.

1785-86.

BENGAL.

Scindiah's views against Tippoo rejected.

MADAJEE SCINDIAH, in the month of July, made a proposal for an alliance between the Peishwa, the Nizam, and the Company, against Tippoo: but the Supreme Government, under the resolution

1785.

tion contained in the new Act, declined to take any part. Hostilities ensued, in which the Mahrattas were entirely defeated. Mr. Malet was deputed to the Poonah durbar, and a treaty was concluded between Scindiah and the Seiks, under which the latter were to supply five thousand horse, for which a jaghire was conferred upon them, valued at ten lacs.

Scindiah was recalled by the Peishwa to Poonah, but he remained, notwithstanding this summons, at Allyghur, in the midst of great difficulties, and involved with the Raja of Jeypore; whilst Tippoo laid siege to Meritz, in the province of Bejapoor, on the banks of the Krishna; which place had been the capital of different Mahratta chieftains. Allyghur surrendered to Scindiah at the commencement of 1786, when the government were constrained to make a conditional promise of aid to the Mahrattas, against Tippoo, but avoided becoming parties to a treaty formed between them and the Nizam, in the month of June.

rince of Wales' Island.

Prince of Wales' Island, in the Straits of Malacca, was taken possession of during Mr. Macpherson's administration. The necessity of having a port where British ships might meet the eastern merchants, and a windward station for refreshment and the repair of the King's ships as well as those of the Company, were the principal reasons with the Government in obtaining that settlement, through Capt. Light.

Rawson

1785-86.

Rawson Hart Boddam, Esq. was appointed, by the Court, governor of Bombay, with Messrs. Sparkes and Church as members of council, and Brigadier Nilson was nominated commander-in-chief at that presidency.

Oude.

In connexion with Bengal, the Directors approved of the resolution of the Supreme Government to withdraw the Residency from Lucknow, and to accept the offer of the Vizier and his minister to give the security of banks of known credit and responsibility, for the payment of the balances due to the Company, and for the current kists. They sanctioned the continuance of an accountant or receiver at Lucknow, so long as any of the Company's troops should remain in the Vizier's dominions; his business was to be simply, keeping the accounts between the Nabob and the Company, receiving the stipulated subsidy, and appropriating it under the orders of the Government. The Supreme Government were to exercise their own discretion in appointing residents at the respective courts of the Nizam, Madajee Scindiah, and other chiefs.

In consequence of the reductions in the civil service, the Court had refrained from appointing and sending out writers to the several presidencies since 1782: and under the 40th and 41st clauses of the Act of 1784, they were precluded from appointing any additional number until accounts had been received from Bengal. They felt that the effects

1785-86.

effects would be very mortifying to the service, but the altered circumstances of the Company required the strictest economy, and they trusted that openings would gradually occur for their employment. It was anticipated that the savings would effect the immediate discharge of arrears to the army, to which point all the means were first to be directed; and the Court took the opportunity to declare it to be a leading principle of the Company's government, that the pay of the soldier ought never to be in arrear; while there was a rupee in the treasury, he was to be paid; every other article of expenditure being postponed to that consideration.

Regulations were made for the relief of invalided native officers and sepoys, by allotting to them lands to cultivate, agreeably to their respective ranks, within the districts under Boglepore. By this measure the population would be increased, and a considerable portion of the extensive districts brought into cultivation, and thus provide means for their maintenance.*

In alluding to a proposition which had been made by the Nizam for a surrender to him of the Carnatic, the Home authorities expressed their full approbation of the decided negative given to so monstrous an idea, the fundamental principle upon which it was desired to rest the Company's government, being the preservation of treaties inviolate.

* Letter to Bengal, April 1785.

1785-86

inviolate. While the Government continued invariably to act upon that principle, they felt warranted to insist on holding every right to which the Company were entitled by treaty. They viewed Scindiah's conduct as confirming the opinion, that it was wise to refrain from all unnecessary interference in the contentions of the Indian powers, so long as they left the Company and their allies in quiet possession of their own territories. The Government were to be pacific, but careful observers of the movements of other powers, and never without absolute necessity to take part in their differences. The determination of Government to appoint a resident at the court of Poonah was approved, as a point that could not be surrendered without compromising their dignity and importance in the eyes of the native powers. With regard to the desire expressed by Scindah for the return of the Shazada to his father's dominions, the Court had no wish, in the distracted state of the Mogul empire, that the young prince should be induced to withdraw himself from their protection ; neither could they give the least encouragement to any idea of engaging in warlike enterprizes, for the purpose of re-establishing the ancient dignity of that empire ; and although it might be attended with some charge, the expense would be fully compensated by the prince being safe, and under the protection of the Company.*

A high

* Letter to Bengal, September 1785.

1785-86.

Conduct of Bengal Government approved in reductions.

A high sense was entertained of the zeal of the Government, as shown in the measures of reduction which they had adopted, and the manner in which the servants in general had met the circumstancces of the case. A hope was expressed that, with minds liberally framed and honourably disposed, the servants, who admitted that there were great abuses, would ultimately have no cause to regret the temporary interference with their prospects.

The Court then referred to further measures in contemplation under the Acts of 1784 and 1786, and observed that the latter conferred large and increased powers upon the Governor-general.

Thanks voted to Mr. Macpherson.

The Court's unanimous thanks were voted to John Macpherson Esq. for his meritorious conduct during the time he had presided in the Supreme Government, and to the other members of the Council.

CHAPTER III.

1786-87.
Earl Cornwallis appointed Governor-general and Commander-in-chief.

THE nobleman selected for the purpose of carrying into effect the important measures contemplated in the Act of 1784, and for assuming the offices of governor-general and commander-in-chief, under the provisions of the Act of 1786, was Earl Cornwallis. His rank and birth were felt to be pledges for his good conduct and personal honour; his independent fortune was a guarantee against its needing repair from the spoils of the natives. The two offices could be united in his person, a point strongly recommended by Lord Macartney; and his integrity, prudence, valour, patriotism, and economy, were qualifications that would enable him to sustain with the greatest possible advantage the highest appointment in India.

Pension to General Sloper.

As the arrangement affected the interest of General Sloper, who had been nominated commander-in-chief, the expense of which officer would now be saved, the Court resolved, in revoking that nomination, to grant him an annuity of £1,500, and to defray the expense of his passage to Europe.

Lord

1786-87.
Lord Cornwallis arrives at Calcutta.

Lord Cornwallis touched at Madras on his outward voyage, and landed at Calcutta on the 12th September. A meeting of the Council was immediately held, at which he took the usual oaths and assumed charge of the Government. On the 13th of November his lordship addressed the Court. He first adverted to the financial state of affairs, and represented that the Company's paper was at a discount that could only be reduced by a strict adherence to their engagements with the public, and by as early a discharge of old obligations as possible. He called on the Revenue Board to account for the extraordinary discrepancy between the estimated and actual receipts. The former having been stated at 92 lacs 59,000 rupees, whereas the receipt into the khalsa was expected to be only 66 lacs 12,000 rupees. The debt was 6 crore 24 lacs, at $8\frac{3}{8}$ per cent. He then referred to the unsatisfactory state of the Court of Appeal, which had in fact become quite inefficient, and to his determination to hold regular meetings of the Governor-general in Council, in that capacity.

State of Finances.

Court of Appeal.

In a second letter, written after another month's investigation into the affairs of the Government and their financial resources, his Lordship repeated that they would call for primary attention. He felt it needless to enlarge upon the discernment which the Directors must possess, and of which they daily experienced the effects, that while the unavoidable expenses of the establishments, the interest

Financial views.

1786-87.

interest due upon the debts, and the demand from the other presidencies, absorbed the produce of the revenue, considerable investment could only be made by fresh issues of paper, by which mode the evil might be protracted, but would only be ultimately increased. It exhibited a delusive appearance of wealth which could not be supported, and by a temporary accommodation entailed permanent distresses. Such were the sound views which his lordship expressed in those comparatively early days of Indian commercial dealings. He assured the Court that they might depend upon the strictest attention to rigid economy in all public disbursements, and in obtaining the different articles of supply required for the public service; but he could not flatter them with any expectation of drawing new resources by the further retrenchment of salaries in establishments. It did not appear that the Company could look for relief in India. Foreigners maintained a very successful commercial competition against the Company in the aurungs, where they were sovereigns, to the prejudice of the commerce and the revenues; it therefore behoved the Company to facilitate the means of remittance.

Native chiefs repair to Calcutta.

Many of the principal native chiefs connected with the Government desired to come in person to pay their respects to the Governor-general. The Vizier had sent his minister, Hyder Beg Khan, upon whom his lordship particularly pressed the importance

1786-87.

importance of attending to the state of the finances in Oude, and also to the courts of justice. Mahomed Reza Cawn, the Nabob Mobarek-ul-Dowlah, the Shazada, each sought a personal interview; but he felt it impossible to show the outward ceremonials which "were considered to be due to the princes of the house of Timur."

Supplies and army.

The Governor-general resolved that all supplies should in future be made by contract, instead of by agencies. He described the European recruits as dreadful in character and low in standard, the natives were far better—but a wavering disposition was manifested by some portion of them.

Decennial settlement postponed.

His lordship found it necessary to postpone till the following year the decennial settlement. Notwithstanding the uncommon abilities and experience of Mr. Shore, the time was too short to admit of instituting the additional enquiries, whilst the differences between the King's and Company's troops demanded his earliest attention, likewise abuses in the silk department, which called for some severe examples.

The Nizam, the Vizier of Oude, and the Nabob of the Carnatic, were the chief native states with whom his lordship had political negotiations, until the rupture with Tippoo.

Notwithstanding the agreement on the surrender of the assignment to the Nabob, in June 1785,* a treaty was entered into with his highness by Sir Archibald Campbell in February 1787, for settling

1786-87.

settling an arrangement for the future defence of the Carnatic.* The Nabob was to contribute nine lacs of pagodas annually towards the peace establishment, beyond which the Company were to provide what might be needed. In the event of war, the Company were to charge themselves with the direction, order, and conduct of the Carnatic, the Nabob making the collections; and parties were to be nominated by his highness to inspect the accounts kept by the Company of the receipts and payments. The same power was to be exercised by the Company with reference to the receipts by the Nabob: four-fifths thereof being applied to the military expenses. Other ulterior arrangements were also prescribed in the treaty. Thus the whole direction and defence of the Carnatic, in the event of war, was devolved upon the Company, and all the embarrassments anticipated from conflicting councils and divided forces were obviated.

A treaty of a similar effect, only differing in the amount of the sums to be paid by the rajah of Tanjore, Ameer Sing, was entered into with his highness, by Sir Archibald Campbell.

Oude.

The Governor-general's attention had been earnestly directed, to bring to a satisfactory termination the Company's political relations with the Vizier of Oude. He had declared to Hyder Beg Khan,

* *Vide* page 35.

1787-88. BENGAL.

Khan, as minister, the principles upon which it would be mutually expedient to continue the friendly connexion between the Vizier and the Company. The negotiations terminated in a treaty with Ausuff-ul-Dowlah on the 21st of July.

The first formal communication was from the Governor-general to the Nabob Vizier, on the 15th of April, in which, after reference to the treaty with Shujah Dowlah, Lord Cornwallis stated: "As I consider the Company's territories and those of your Excellency as the same, the protection of your Excellency's dominions is absolutely necessary, as from its situation the boundary of the whole is more exposed to foreign attacks. This protection cannot be afforded in a proper manner without the aid of the Company's troops. With respect to the troops stationed at Futty Ghur, which had been withdrawn, as stipulated in the treaty of Chunar of 1781, I advise that they shall not be recalled, but continued.

"Your Excellency must be sensible that there is no comparison between the troops of the Company and those in your Excellency's service, and that without the assistance of the former, your dominions and authority would be insecure.

"It is my firm intention not to embarrass you with further expense than that incurred by the Company from their connexion with your Excellency, and for the protection of your country, which by the accounts I find amounts to fifty lacs of

of Fyzabad rupees per year. It is my intention from the date of this agreement that your Excellency shall not be charged with any excess on this sum, and that no further demand shall be made; any additional aid by the Company is to be supplied on a fair estimate."

1787-88.

The most important part then followed, in reference to the non-interference of the Company:

"A resident, as at present, will remain at your Excellency's court; but as it is the intention of the Company, and my firm resolution, that no interference shall take place in the details of your government, strict orders shall be sent to him that he shall neither interfere himself nor suffer interference by public or private claims of exemptions of duties, or any other mode, for any British subject or person under the authority of this Government. In short, leaving the whole management of your country to your Excellency and your ministers, I will put a stop to the interference of others, and in order to carry this effectually into execution, I propose to your Excellency not to suffer any European to reside in your dominions without my written permission. In case that shall be granted, a copy of it will be transmitted to you.

"A retrospect into past transactions, and the friendship known so well to exist between your Excellency and the Company, induce me to state the

1787-88. the following circumstances: that for several years past the inhabitants of your Excellency's dominions from motives of self-interest, have appealed to this government, and this has been a source of injury to your government. I am determined to put a stop to this practice, and to disregard the applications; but as the connexion between the two governments is universally known, strict attention to justice on your part will add credit and renown to both.

"By the accounts subsisting between your Excellency and the Company, a considerable balance is due from you. I am unwilling to embarrass you with any other demands than what are absolutely necessary." After certain payments of arrears to the troops, to Saadut Ally, and to the Rohillas, the balance was to be struck off.

Lord Cornwallis then referred to Hyder Beg Khan for further information on other points, and added, "Your Excellency may have the most assured confidence that I will faithfully abide by all the engagements on the part of the Honourable Company."

The whole of the Governor-general's propositions were readily acceded to by the Nabob Vizier, and concluded through Hyder Beg Khan on the 21st July.

A treaty of commerce with the state of Oude was concluded in the following year, by which the

1787-88.

the power of exacting duties was defined, as well as other points, in order to remove all grounds for jealousy on the part of either government.

Mr. Shore.

The Court of Directors having occasion to refer to the services of Mr. Shore, ordered that in the event of his succeeding to a seat in the Supreme Council, he should be appointed to preside over the revenue department, that the Company's Government might have the full benefit of the knowledge he so eminently possessed in that important branch of their general concerns. The attention of the Government was called to the state of the mines in Ramghur, of which a lease had been granted to Mr. Prinsep for thirty years; and to the trade with Assam in salt, and the advantageous returns that might be made in gold dust and other articles, as originally suggested in a letter from Mr. Baillie in 1773, during his residence of eight years at Gualparah. It was also considered that broad-cloth and other European commodities might be disposed of to the natives of Assam, who were represented as carrying on considerable traffic with the colder countries, situated to the north-east, from whence returns in silk, pepper, and specie, might be obtained.*

Mines in Ramghur. Trade with Assam and in salt.

Supreme Court adverse to retrenchment.

The Supreme Court at Calcutta having manifested an indisposition to enter into the measures of retrenchment and economy, the Government were directed to suggest what they might think proper,

* Letter to Bengal, March 1787.

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proper, and measures would be taken to obtain the direction and authority of Parliament for effecting them.

Overland communication.

As it was deemed important to secure a regular communication with India overland, the Court advised the Supreme Government that they had appointed Mr. Baldwin, his Majesty's consul-general in Egypt, the Company's agent at Cairo, for forwarding dispatches to and from India. The Government were directed to despatch annually on the 3d November one of the Company's armed cruisers to Suez, with orders to call and remain two days at Fort St. George, from whence she was to sail to Bombay, and there to remain only two days, and then to proceed to Suez, Mr. Baldwin taking the necessary measures for returning her to India with the Company's despatches, agreeably to the orders from the Court of Directors. Private letters were permitted to be sent with the Company's despatches: each single letter, not exceeding a quarter of an ounce, was to pay three sicca rupees. The packets were to be made up in tin boxes and soldered, so as to avoid quarantine, to which cloth would be subject. Mr. Baldwin had not yet made arrangements with the *bashaws* for opening the communication through Suez to the English, but he had an agent at Alexandria. The postmaster in London had agreed to forward letters to Leghorn; no goods whatever were to be put on board the cruiser.

This

1787-88.

This commencement of a system for overland communication, presents a striking contrast to the measures of 1836, and the application of the power of steam, which is to secure a monthly mail, and the accomplishment of the passage in less than fifty days.

Finance accounts for a budget.

As it was intended to introduce the practice of submitting an India budget annually to Parliament, directions were given for the preparation and transmission of the several accounts, actual and in estimate.*

Restrictive policy as to alliances approved.

Overtures by the Seiks to obtain military aid from the Government, and to form an alliance with the Company, were declined. The Directors stated that they could not applaud too highly the conduct of the Supreme Council in abstaining from all such measures, as they were firmly persuaded that to protect their own territories, and the territories of those with whom they were allied, without taking any part in the contentions of others, which did not affect either the Company or their allies, was, on every account, the soundest policy that could be adopted.

Benares.

The district of Benares was placed under the superintendence of Mr. Jonathan Duncan, whose disposition and abilities eminently qualified him to carry into effect the plan framed for relieving the

* Annual budgets were submitted to Parliament from the year 1788 to 1805.

1788.

the body of the inhabitants from many of the oppressions to which they had been subjected.

Political aspects in India and Europe.

Alluding to the political relations, Lord Cornwallis observed that "all the neighbouring powers continued to profess the most pacific disposition towards the Company's governments, but the ambition and real inclination of Tippoo are so well known, that should, unluckily, any difference arise with the French nation, we must lay our account that the Carnatic will immediately after become the scene of a dangerous war."

The possibility of a rupture with France had suggested itself to Lord Cornwallis by the state of politics in Europe, and especially the general feeling that had been exhibited in France to discuss and to oppose measures, upon principles that had scarcely been before advanced, still less recognised or supported by the aristocracy of that kingdom. The greater degree of intercourse that had existed between this country and the continent, the admiration with which our constitution was viewed, whilst the principles upon which it was based were little comprehended, infused into the minds of our continental neighbours a desire to secure for themselves equal advantages as a people. They saw the liberty which the subject enjoyed in England of expressing opinions and freely canvassing the measures of the government, whilst Frenchmen were subjected to *lettres-de-cachet*, to imprisonment, and banishment without legal

1788.

legal trial, which called forth strong feelings of disgust and dissatisfaction. An opportunity for giving vent to this state of the public mind arose out of the discussions occasioned by the immense additional weight to the national debt of France, (already gigantic in amount,) the consequence of their having taken part in the American war. A great portion of the money raised had been expended from home, and sunk in distant and unprofitable enterprises. To supply the public exigencies, innumerable taxes, intolerable in amount and obnoxious in principle, roused the popular feeling,—a prelude to those disastrous scenes which involved Europe in troubles and unceasing discord for nearly a quarter of a century. The establishment of the French influence in India had always been a favourite design with their government, and as their political projects had failed in the West, they contemplated the East as a field in which they might once more display a career that would gratify the French nation, and present an object of ambition to the people.

These views, coupled with the known disposition on the part of the native states to encourage and foster our European rivals, in the hope of emancipating themselves from British rule or interference, led Lord Cornwallis, with his natural prudence, to watch Tippoo's designs with distrust and suspicion.

A question arose at home at this period, between his

1788.
King's troops.
Differences between Court of Directors and Government.

his Majesty's Government and the East-India Company, which led to much difference of opinion and warm discussions in Parliament. It related to the expediency of detaching four King's regiments to India. The first King's force was sent thither at the instance of the Company, in the year 1778, in consequence of the state of the Mahratta powers, and the probability of hostilities with France, owing to the interference of that nation against England in the American war.

In 1781, Parliament decided that for every regiment of one thousand men sent to India at the request of the Company, they should pay to his Majesty the sum of two lacs of current rupees per annum.

A correspondence between the Board of Commissioners and the Court of Directors took place in 1785, respecting the European forces, and with the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. Pitt, in 1786, as to the demands against the Company on account of the expenses of the King's troops, but it was not till 1787 that those measures were adopted which led to the declaratory Act of the following year. In the latter part of 1787, it was apprehended that Great Britain would have been involved in war, and that a blow would be struck at our Eastern possessions; an intimation was accordingly made in the month of October by Mr. Dundas, that the King had been graciously pleased to order four regiments to be immediately raised for service

service in India, and that his Majesty permitted the Company to present for nomination seventy-five officers. The regiments were— 1788.

The 74th, Sir A. Campbell;
75th, Colonel Abercrombie;
76th, Colonel Musgrave;
77th, Colonel March;

to consist, in the whole, of 2,840 Europeans.

The Court's grateful sense of his Majesty's gracious attention to the safety of the Company's possessions was conveyed through Mr. Dundas, and a committee of general officers was appointed by the Court of Directors to meet at the India House, for the purpose of devising the most eligible mode of carrying into effect the appointments which the Court were permitted to make, as, by the Act of 27th Geo. II. cap. 9, under which the articles of war were framed, officers bearing his Majesty's commission ranked over those of the Company, although the King's bore a later date than the Company's commission. A petition from the Company's Bengal officers, praying that the Court would intercede with his Majesty to remove all partiality as to rank, was presented to the Directors. So great were the embarrasments apprehended if the measure was persevered in, that on the 21st of November the Chairman and Deputy were requested to wait on the Board of Commissioners, and consult with them upon some mode of obviating the contemplated difficulties, either by

1788. by an application to his Majesty to grant an equal rank, or for withdrawing the regiments intended for India. The chairs had an interview with the Board, when they were informed by Mr. Dundas, that a reply to the representation would be transmitted to the Court in writing. On the 4th of December the reply was communicated to the Court, in which some observations were made as to the point of rank; but it was intimated that the idea of diminishing any part of the British forces contemplated to be sent to India was so adverse to what the Board conceived to be for the welfare and security of that country, that they could not allow such an idea to enter into any further discussion between the Board and the Court. The Court of Directors beheld with the deepest concern the determined manner in which the Commissioners had thought proper to wave all further discussion, upon the subject of withdrawing entirely the four regiments intended to be raised for India. They pointed out that as the apprehension of impending war had ceased, it was wholly unnecessary to entail so heavy a charge upon the Company: under this consideration, therefore, and with reference to the principle of economy so strongly enjoined by the Act of the 24th Geo. III. and to the alteration in public affairs, they trusted the Board would concur in a representation to the King, to enable the Company to increase their European force in India, in a mode less destructive

tructive to their welfare, and thereby remove from the minds of 1,100 gallant officers the disgust and ndignation which they would feel, from a most cruel and unmerited supercession. The Board explicitly declined to concur in any such representation, and stated, that the subject would be brought before his Majesty's confidential advisers. On the 28th of December the Chairman laid before the Court a note from Lord Sydney, acquainting the Court that his Majesty's servants did not propose to advise his Majesty to alter the resolution of sending the four regiments to India.

1788.

The Court of Directors accordingly petitioned the King to withdraw the regiments: they expressed the readiness of the Company to pay all expenses occasioned "in consequence of his Majesty's order for raising the four regiments; and being persuaded that, with the aid of his Majesty's ministers, they should be able to raise any force that might be thought necessary for the defence of India, upon terms infinitely less burthensome to the Company, they felt impelled by every consideration of public duty, by a necessary attention to the finances of the Company, by a sense of justice to individuals, by a willing obedience to the Legislature, but above all by their alarming apprehension of the effect the measure would produce in India, to pray that the said regiments might be withdrawn."

The petition was delivered to Lord Sydney, who laid the same before the King: and on the 1st of February,

1788. February, his lordship informed the Court that his Majesty did not judge proper to change his resolution of sending four regiments to India.

It appearing that the Court might legally withdraw their consent to the regiments proceeding to India, and that they were not liable to defray the expenses of the four regiments if sent to India without their requisition, but that the State must bear the same, they rescinded their resolution of the 17th of October 1787.

On the 23d of February the Court received intimation from the Board, that a motion would be made in Parliament for leave to bring in a bill for removing all doubt as to the power of the Board to order payment of any expenses which might be incurred in sending out and maintaining such troops as should be judged necessary for the security of the British territories and possessions in India.

On the 25th, Mr. Pitt accordingly moved the House of Commons for leave to bring in such bill. He stated, that he was at a loss to imagine on what principle doubts were entertained by several high legal characters as to the powers of the Board; and contended, that there was not one step which the Court of Directors could take, prior to the Act of 1784, establishing the Board, which that Board might not now take touching the political and military concerns and revenues of India. In this Mr. Dundas concurred, adding, that if it should appear necessary for the security of our Indian possessions,

possessions, the Board had power to apply the whole of the revenue of India to that purpose, without leaving a single rupee for the Company's investment.

1788.

The unfavourable reception the bill met with in the House, and even from many of the minister's own friends, was apparent through the whole progress. Some of his friends suggested, that he had been led into the measure by persons of whose principles they did not much approve, and with whom they were sorry to see him so intimately connected. Clauses were moved by the *Chancellor of the Exchequer* on the re-commitment of the bill. To render it less objectionable, he first limited the number of King's forces, for the payment of which the Board of Commissioners were empowered to issue their orders, to 8,045, including commissioned and non-commissioned officers, and 12,000 of European forces in the Company's service; the second was to prevent their increasing the established salary of any officer in the service of the Company, unless proposed by the Directors and laid before Parliament; the third was to prevent the Commissioners from ordering the payment of any extraordinary allowance to any person on account of services in India, except proposed by the Directors: the fourth required the Directors to lay sundry accounts before Parliament annually.

On the third reading, on the 19th of March, in the

1788. the Lords, the bill was supported by Lords Camden, Coventry, Hopetoun, and the Lord Chancellor: it passed by a majority of 71 to 28. A strong protest was entered, and signed by sixteen of the dissentient peers.

Thus was established the first legislative provision, fixing the number of King's troops which might be sent to India, and maintained out of the revenue of that country, by orders of the Board of Commissioners for the Affairs of India.

Nizam. Guntoor Circar.

Under the treaty concluded with the Nizam in February 1768, the Guntoor Circar was to be ceded to the Company, a certain peshcush being secured to the Nizam; it was also agreed, that a corps of two battalions of sepoys, with guns, should be furnished by the Company on his requisition to that effect. The corps had never been required by the Nizam, and the connexion between that prince and the Company being of an unsettled nature, Lord Cornwallis deputed Captain Kennaway to Hyderabad in the character of British resident, with the view of obtaining the Circar and effecting a settlement of the peshcush. The Nizam delivered to Capt. Kennaway, on the 18th September 1788, an order for the immediate surrender of the Guntoor Circar to the Company. He shortly afterwards despatched Meer Abul Cossim to Calcutta, to make known his sentiments to the Governor-general on various points connected with his personal interests.

In

In July 1789 Lord Cornwallis addressed a letter to the Nizam, referring to the matters stated in the verbal communication of Meer Abul Cossim on behalf of his highness in reference to some articles in the treaty of 1768. His lordship expressed his satisfaction at the readiness with which the Guntoor Circar had been surrendered, in conformity with the provisions of that treaty. He entered into a full discussion with Meer Abul Cossim on some doubtful points in that treaty, and offered such explanations as should remove the necessity of any future difficulty. In adopting that rule of conduct he declared that he did no more than fulfil the intention of the King of England and the British nation, who, by the system lately established for the government of India, had in view the important end of giving efficacy to the existing treaties between the English and the powers of Hindostan, and of securing a due performance of them in future. His lordship, however, declined the proposal of Meer Abul Cossim to reopen the stipulation for the payment of five lacs by the Company from the 1st January 1774, if the circar of Condavie was then in their possession, by now mortgaging a portion of the circars to his highness; and in proof of the sincerity of his intentions, Lord Cornwallis consented that the words "whenever the situation of affairs will allow of such a body of troops to march into the Deccan" from the Company, should be understood

1788.

1788. stood to mean that the force should be of a given strength, and granted whenever his highness should apply for it, upon condition that it was not to be employed against any power in alliance with the Company, *viz.* Pundit Purdhaum, the Peishwa, Ragojee Bhoosla the Rajah of Berar, Madajee Scindiah and the other Mahratta chiefs, the Nabob of Arcot, the Nabob Vizier, and the Rajahs of Tanjore and Travancore.

The Nizam also pressed for the fulfilment of the the provisions of the articles in the treaty of 1768, by which the Company would pay him a certain peshcush on some portion of the Carnatic, Bhalagaut then belonging to Hyder, and now to Tippoo.

Lord Cornwallis stated, that "his highness must be aware circumstances had wholly prevented the possibility of such stipulation being fulfilled, and that an attempt to deprive Tippoo of any part of his possessions would naturally create in his mind suspicions unfavourable to his highness, and to the character of the Company. His lordship expressed his desire to fulfil or explain every article in the treaty of 1768, and assured the Nizam, that although he felt precluded by the injunctions of the King of England, and the Company to make new treaties, yet his present letter was to be considered equally binding as a treaty, the members of the Council having given their cheerful acquiescence in its contents."

The

1788.
Directors approve Governor-general's measures regarding Oude.

The Directors having attentively perused all the papers on the subject of the Governor-general's agreement with the Vizier of Oude, expressed their approbation of the general settlement, and of the principles upon which it was founded; they considered that it accurately defined the relation of the British Government towards that state, the defence of which was assigned to the British troops under a fixed subsidy, the internal government of the country remaining with the Nabob. They, however, observed that, from Lord Cornwallis's Minute of April 1787, the Government did not consider themselves precluded from making representations to the Vizier on the subject of his administration whenever they might think it necessary; or that they were precluded from proposing such general arrangements, as should appear likely to contribute to the prosperity of both governments. A watchful eye was to be kept on Hyder Beg Khan, who was, in fact, the ruler of the country.*

Gen. Medows appointed Governor of Madras.

The Directors, in August 1789, announced to the Supreme Government that they had appointed Major-general William Medows, then at Bombay, governor and commander-in-chief at Madras, in the room of Sir Archibald Campbell, and that Colonel Robert Abercromby had been nominated governor and commander-in-chief at Bombay.

* Letter to Bengal, April 1789.

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They also stated, at the close of the season, that they could not allow of the departure of the last ship without again calling the attention of the Government to the Company's possessions in India, and to their establishments.

Court of Directors anticipate further retrenchments possible.

With regard to the civil establishments, it appeared, from an extensive examination, that they had been brought down as low as possible. They concurred with Lord Cornwallis, that persons in responsible situations should be provided with adequate salaries. As to the military establishment, the situation of affairs appeared to be different from what they were in 1785, both in India and Europe. Great Britain was in perfect amity with the Republic of Holland. France had in a great measure withdrawn the military force from Pondicherry, and they inferred from recent despatches from India, that there was no reason to apprehend hostilities in that country. Under all these circumstances, the Court expected that the Governor-general, before he left India, would accurately inform himself how far there was any prospect of effecting other reductions in parts of the expensive establishments; and if he should be of opinion that any could be effected, he was at full liberty to carry them into effect, without reference to Europe.

Whilst the Court were thus anticipating the results of a further system of judicious economy on the part of the Government, for which they considered

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considered a period of peace most favourable, events were arising in India that proved with how little certainty any calculation could be made of the disposition and views of the native states.

Apprehensions regarding Tippoo.

The arrangement concluded by Lord Cornwallis in July 1789 with the Nizam, stipulated that the corps to be supplied his highness by the Company at his demand should not be employed against any of the powers in alliance with the Company. The several powers were named, but no mention was made of Tippoo. The treaty of 1784 with Tippoo provided that peace and friendship should immediately take place between the contracting parties and their allies, including *particularly the Rajahs of Tanjore and Travancore*, as friends of the English.

What passed in the verbal communications between Lord Cornwallis and Meer Abul Cossim, that led to the letter written by his lordship to the Nizam in July 1789, which was declared by the House of Commons to have the full force of a treaty,* does not clearly appear. Comparing its contents with the conduct of Tippoo in 1788, when he advanced towards the Malabar coast with hostile intentions towards the Rajah of Travancore; when he also stirred up the Rajah of Cochin to lay claim to part of the ground on which the lines of Travancore were built, it is evident that the Governor-general was satisfied that

* Journals of the House of Commons, 15th March 1792.

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that the period was not far distant when they would have to unite in one common cause against the chief of Mysore, who was himself quite alive to his being an object of jealousy, both towards the Mahrattas and the Nizam. Indeed, the Rajah of Travancore had despatched a message to Sir Archibald Campbell at Madras for some assistance; which being afforded, led to Tippoo's withdrawing to Seringapatam.

The interval occasioned by the return of the Mysore chief to his capital, admitted of Lord Cornwallis directing his attention to the postponed question of a REVENUE SETTLEMENT.

Revenue settlement.

His lordship had taken measures for remodelling the various establishments; he had endeavoured to extend the commercial investment to Europe for the purpose of ameliorating the state of the Company's finances; he had given encouragement to the various productions of silk, indigo, and opium; the manufactures of Oude formed an object of solicitude, and Mr. Barlow had been nominated to report upon the productions of that kingdom, and upon the trade of the district of Benares.

His lordship had visited the interior of the country, and inspected the several districts, together with the army, at the most distant stations: a measure

sure which was highly approved by the Court of Directors, to whom he had expressed his sentiments on the condition of the European branch of their forces.

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His lordship entered upon the general question of a revenue system, with the view of ultimately fixing a permanent settlement; a most important subject, and one deeply affecting the happiness of the people, the prosperity of the country, and the interests of the state. After the lapse of half a century, the changed condition of the Company, the extended territorial possessions of Great Britain in the East, and the increasing importance of rendering them most productive to the people and their rulers, will be a sufficient reason for entering at some length into principles, which form the foundation of that important and much debated measure.

Frequent changes deprecated by Directors, and their views on revenue.

The Court of Directors disapproved of the frequent changes that had taken place in that system, and condemned the ineffectual attempts made to increase the amount of the assessment, which had entailed a heavy tax on the zemindars in providing for the introduction of farmers and others, who, having no permanent interest in the lands, drained the country of its resources. They disapproved of the rule prohibiting the collector from having any concern in the formation of the settlement of his district. They noticed the heavy arrears of outstanding balances, and expressed an opinion that the

1788-89. the most effectual mode to prevent a recurrence of such defalcations would be the introduction of a permanent settlement of revenue, its amount being estimated on reasonable principles, and the best security for its regular payment being the hereditary tenure of the possessor, who in their opinion was the zemindar. The Court were of opinion that sufficient data had been obtained, upon which a settlement might be made without further minute local scrutinies, the average of a given number of former years being the guide. A moderate assessment, collected punctually, would more effectually unite the interests of the state with the happiness of the people than the enforcement of a high-strained and vexatious exaction. Although the late settlement might present sufficient grounds for its permanent introduction after confirmation from home, yet it was considered expedient to conclude it, in the first instance, for ten years only. In order to give effect to the provisions of the Act of 1784 in favour of the landholders, they directed that, as far as possssible, the rights and privileges of the zemindars and other landholders, and the services they were bound to perform under the ancient governments, should be as far as possible ascertained.

It will be recollected that much surprise had been expressed from home when Mr. Hastings represented the necessity of farther investigation, to enable him to form a just opinion as to a revenue settlement

1788-89.

Information on revenue system still incomplete.

settlement.* But Lord Cornwallis found that Government did not possess, after ten years' additional experience, sufficient information to warrant their proceeding to the decennial settlement, with a view to its perpetuity; constituting, as the land revenue did, the principal financial means of the Government.

The ancient laws, local usages, the nature of the land tenure, the relative situation and condition of the natives connected with the revenue, had not been sufficiently ascertained. Annual settlements were, therefore, continued through the agency of the collectors of the different districts, under the superintendence of the Board of Revenue, whilst interrogatories were circulated amongst the oldest servants for the purpose of acquiring all possible information upon the interesting question.

Revenue settlement.

The first point was to determine the person with whom the settlement was to be made; the next, the amount of assessment to be fixed.

Upon the first, whatever difference of opinion existed amongst those officially consulted on the theoretical question of proprietary right in the soil, a general concurrence prevailed in favour of the settlement being made with the zemindar where no disqualification existed.

With regard to the second question, it appeared that means adequate to so desirable and important a pur-

* *Vide* vol. i. page 545.

1788-89. a purpose were not to be found. A calculation had been made by estimates extracted from the ancient records by the officer in charge of the khalsa, or exchequer, which created suspicions that concealments had been practised as to the real state and value of the lands, and that the confidence of the Government had been abused. The documents afforded much interesting matter regarding the ancient tenures under the Mahomedan rule, but the misconceptions which had arisen on the most important branch, *viz*. the amount of revenue, were pointed out and explained in an able minute prepared by Mr. Shore.*

He remarked, that if the arguments and observations he advanced as to the rights and privileges of the zemindars and talookdars, tended to confirm the opinions adopted by the Directors that these descriptions of people were the proprietors of the soil, one material point was gained. It would be, however, but one step towards the establishment of order; what remained to be done, relating to practice and detail, required a great degree of minute knowledge and local information. The Company had possessed the Dewanny authority over the provinces for twenty-six years, and especial enquiries had been made, at different times, into the state of the revenue and the condition of the inhabitants: yet much uncertainty remained in regard to the rights and usages of the people

* June 18th 1789.

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people and the different orders connected with the the revenues. The ability and experience of Mr. Shore, nevertheless, enabled the Government to proceed in the decennial settlement. A medium was drawn from the scanty information which the collectors had the means of obtaining of the actual produce to Government in former years. This formed the basis on which the assessment on each estate, whether large or small, was ultimately fixed. A moderate jumma was thus framed, upon the principles laid down by the Directors, which had in view the happiness of the natives and the security of the landholders, objects which could not have been obtained from an imperfect collection of an exaggerated jumma, enforced with severity and exaction.

Under the Mogul government, the scheme of internal policy, in the management of the land revenue appeared to have been framed with the view of providing for their financial resources, increasing with the augmentation of their population and the cultivation of the land. A large proportion of the extensive plains of India, estimated in the Company's provinces at one-third by Lord Cornwallis, at one-half by others, and by some at two-thirds, capable of cultivation, lay waste, and was probably never otherwise. When any portion was brought into cultivation, the state derived its advantage from the progressive augmentations. This rule appears to have been a general principle through

1788-89. through every part of the empire which had come under British dominion, its origin being anterior to the conquest by the Mahomedan power. By it, the produce of the land, whether taken in kind or estimated in money, was understood to be shared in distinct proportions between the cultivator and the government. The shares varied when the land was recently cleared and required extraordinary labour, but where it was fully settled and productive, the cultivator had two-fifths and the government the remainder. The government share was again divided with the zemindar and the village officers in such proportion that the zemindar retained no more than one-tenth of this share, or little more than three-fiftieth parts of the whole; but in instances of meritorious conduct, the deficiency was made up to him by special grants of land, denominated *nauncaur*, or subsistence. The small portions which remained were divided between the *Mokuddim*, or head cultivator of the village, who was either supposed instrumental in originally settling the village, or derived his right by inheritance, or by purchase from that transaction, and had still the charge of promoting and directing its cultivation; the *pausbaun*, or *gorayat*, whose duty it was to guard the crop; and the *putwary*, or village accountant, perhaps the only inhabitant who could write. Besides these persons, who, from the zemindar downwards, were to be regarded as servants of the government, provision was made either

either by an allotted share of the produce, or by a special grant of land for the *Canoongoe*, or confidential agent of the Government, whose name implies that he was the depositary and promulgator of the established regulations, his office being intended as a check in the conduct of the financial transactions of the rest. Under this officer, or one of his *gomastahs*, or appointed agents, were placed a certain number of adjacent villages, the accounts of which, as kept by the putwaries, were constantly open to his inspection, and the transactions in which, regarding the occupancy of land and distinction of boundaries, came under his cognizance in a form that enabled him, at any time when called upon, to report to the Government the quantity of land in cultivation, the nature of the produce, the amount of rent paid, and generally the disposal of the produce, agreeably to the shares allotted by the rules, as above explained. Cases of contested boundaries, the use of rivers or reservoirs for irrigation, and, generally, all disputes concerning permanent property or local usage, within the limits of his official range, were referred to him.

1788-89.

A certain number of villages with a society thus organized, formed a pergunna; a certain number of these, equal to a moderate sized English county, was denominated a chuckla; of these, a certain number and extent formed a circar, and a few of these formed the last grand division, a soubah.

The

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The Company's collectors, to whom the task was devolved of assessing the lands, reported their progress in detail to the Board of Revenue, upon whose recommendation, when approved by Government, the settlement was finally concluded with the landholders for the term of ten years. The amount of revenue realized for the year 1790-1, for Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa, was £3,108,915, and from Benares, £400,615.

The fear of confirming under a perpetual settlement abuses that might not have come to light, or if discovered could not be obviated, suggested a trial of the decennial settlement before an assurance was given to the zemindars that it would be perpetual.

Opinions of Lord Cornwallis and Mr. Shore on settlement of the revenue.

The arguments advanced in favour of a decennial settlement with the zemindars, without reference to its possible confirmation in perpetuity, and those urged in support of the announcement of such a determination if sanctioned by the Court of Directors, were contained in three minutes submitted by Mr. Shore, two on the 18th of September, and a third on the 8th December 1789 : which were replied to in minutes from Lord Cornwallis, the two first on the 18th of September, and the last on the 3d of February 1790.

Mr. Shore.

Mr. Shore was of opinion that, whatever confidence the Government themselves might have in the propriety of the measures they meant to adopt, it would be impossible to pronounce absolutely upon

upon their success without experience, and that before they recommended the perpetual confirmation of a general measure of so much importance, the Government ought to have that experience; neither was he sure that the plan would be executed with such ability as to justify a recommendation for its confirmation in perpetuity. He considered that the declaration would produce little, if any, advantage, whilst it might be attended with great inconvenience. That it implied an attempt to reconcile the idea of a dubious perpetuity with an absolute engagement for a limited time, and that the zemindars and talookdars would look to the latter only, relying upon it from year to year, until experience should have shown that reliance to be well-founded. With respect to the past, he was from his own observation, as far as it had extended, authorized to affirm that, since the year 1770, cultivation had progressively increased under all the disadvantages of a variable assessment and personal charges; and that with respect to the future, he had no hesitation in declaring that those zemindars who under confirmed engagements would bring their waste lands into cultivation, would not be deterred by a ten years' assignment from attempting it. He also considered it important that some experience should be had of the sufficiency of the regulations which the Government meant to establish to correct the various abuses existing in the detail of the collections.

1788-89.

Having

1788-89. Having deliberated still further upon the general question, he felt compelled to record, on the eve of his departure for Europe, the circumstances which had suggested the doubts he had already expressed against declaring the assessment about to be made upon the country fixed and unalterable. Allowing for the common variations in the state of society, in the improvement and in the decline of agriculture, and admitting the probable alteration in the value of silver, from a large supply of the precious metal from mines or otherwise, he felt that the constancy of the assessment might be of great inconvenience, and even ruinous to many of the contributors: consequently there would be a necessity for some future alteration, which must always take place to the disadvantage of Government, if the assessment be declared fixed for ever. Drought and inundation, and the consequences attending them—scarcity and distress—would affect the annual revenue: could it be declared that no allowances should be made for calamities of this nature when they are great and extensive? Should an earthquake happen, overflowing rivers deposit sand, or mistaken assessment render the village inadequate to bear the land-tax, was the proprietor to be at liberty to resign the estate, or might it be transferred to another? Was the estate of a proprietor to be forfeited without any fault on his part, or the assessment to be subject to diminution without a sufficient

cient provision for the restoration of it? It was allowed that the zemindars were, generally speaking, grossly ignorant of their true interests, and of all that relates to their estates; that the detail of business with their tenants was irregular and confused, exhibiting an intricate scene of collusion opposed to exaction, and of unlicensed demand substituted for methodised claims; that the rules by which the rents were demanded from the ryots were arbitrary, numerous, and indefinite; that the officers of Government possessing local control were imperfectly acquainted with them; whilst their superiors, further removed from the detail, have still less information; that the rights of the talookdars dependent on the zemindars as well as of the ryots are imperfectly understood and defined; that in common cases, the Government often wanted sufficient data and experience to enable them to decide with justice and policy upon claims to exemption from taxes, and that a decision erroneously made might be followed by one or other of these consequences, either a diminution of the revenues of Government, or a confirmation of oppressive exaction.

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He was not of opinion that the revenues might, as some supposed, be prodigiously increased, but he considered the proposed period as one of experiment and improvement, during which, by a systematical conduct regularly directed to one object, confidence was to be given to the zemindars,

1788-89. dars, and a simplification procured of the complicated rental of the ryots. The foundation of the improvement was to be laid in regulations to be established, and the proposed reform depended upon the execution of them, without which, he ventured to predict, no assessment could be permanent. If, at the end of the fifth, sixth, or even eighth year of the assessment, it should be found that the desired improvement had been accomplished, that the relative rights of the talookdars, ryots, and zemindars, were rendered precise and definite, and that the country flourished under the prescribed regulations and the superintending care of the revenue officers, the settlement might be again extended to ten or twenty years; the doubts suggested would be brought to a test, and the question of a perpetual assessment might then be agitated with more accurate information, and if any errors had been committed in rating the value of the different districts, they might be corrected.

The relation of a zemindar to Government and a ryot to a zemindar, was neither that of a proprietor nor a vassal, but a compound of both. The former performed acts of authority unconnected with proprietary right, the latter had rights without real property; and the property of the one, and the rights of the other, were in a great measure held at discretion.

Much time, he apprehended, would elapse before Government could establish a system perfectly

1788-89.

fectly consistent in all its parts, and before they could reduce the compound relation of a zemindar to government, and of a ryot to a zemindar, to the simple principles of landlord and tenant. But he felt substance to be more important than forms. Were the propositions of the collectors for reforming abuses to be examined, they would be found defective, and the regulations which had been established would, if examined, be found indefinite where there ought to have been the utmost precision. Orders which should have been positive, were tempered by cautious conditions; and he was not ashamed to distrust his own knowledge, since he had such frequent proofs that new inquiries lead to new information.

Views of Lord Cornwallis, and his eulogy on Mr. Shore.

Lord Cornwallis declared that the great ability of Mr. Shore, his uncommon knowledge of every part of the revenue system of the country, the liberality and fairness of his remarks, his personal regard and esteem for him, the obligations which he owed to him as a public man for his personal assistance in every branch of the business of the government, rendered it peculiarly gratifying to him to record his high respect for his talents, his warmest sense of his public-spirited principles, which, in an impaired state of health, could alone have supported him in executing a work of such extraordinary labour as submitting his views in the given resolutions regarding the proposed revenue system.

G 2 His

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His lordship then proceeded to meet the objections of Mr. Shore to notifying the intention of the Court of Directors to make the decennial settlement permanent and unalterable, if it should meet with their approbation, a measure which he seemed to think would not at any time be advisable; and likewise the objections to Government taking into their own hands the collection of all internal duties on commerce, and allowing to the zemindars and others by whom those duties had been levied, a deduction equal to the amount which they then realized, a measure which was opposed on the ground that the same advantages would not be realized, and that it was an invasion of private property.

His lordship declared that, had he entertained a doubt of the expediency of fixing the demand of Government upon the lands, he certainly should have thought it his duty to withhold the notification of the intention; but he was still firmly persuaded that a fixed and unalterable assessment of the land rents was best calculated to promote the substantial interests of the Company and of the British nation, as well as the happiness and prosperity of the inhabitants of our Indian territories. He was convinced that such a notification would render the proprietors of land anxious to have the management of their own estates, and, in many instances, induce them to come forward with more fair and liberal offers, at the period of making the new

new settlement; at the same time that even a disappointment of their expectations would be the cause of no real injury to them, or place them in a worse situation than they were before such hopes were held out to them. The notification had accordingly been made in the several collectorships of Bahar, and in the collectorship of Midnapore in Orissa, and, he proposed, should now be made in Bengal.

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The losses liable to arise from drought and inundation would afford a strong inducement to the landholder to exert himself to repair, as speedily as possible, the damages which his lands might have sustained from these calamities, as it was to be expected that, when the public demand upon his lands should be limited to a specific sum, he would employ every means in his power to render them capable of again paying that sum, and as large a surplus as possible for his own use. With regard to the incapacity of the zemindars, if laws were enacted which should secure to them the fruits of their industry and economy, and at the same time leave them to experience the consequence of idleness and extravagance, they must either render themselves capable of transacting their own business, or their necessities would oblige them to dispose of their lands to others, who would cultivate and improve them. This his lordship conceived to be the only effectual mode which the Indian, or any other government, could adopt to

1788-89. to render the proprietors of the lands economical landlords and prudent trustees of the public interests: he considered the detail of business between the zemindars and their under-tenants and ryots being in the intricate state that had been described, as a proof that, the various attempts by successive governments having failed, the necessity of having recourse to other means was consequently clearly established; at the same time it was admitted that the interference of the government, in adjusting the demands of the zemindars upon the ryots, might be necessary. In support of the proposed measure for taking into the hands of the Government the collection of the internal duties, his lordship urged the inefficacy of any attempt on the part of Government, to restrain the zemindars from most oppressive exactions, whilst they were allowed to possess the right of levying taxes of any kind upon commerce. The evil had been experienced in many shapes, and his lordship considered that the total resumption of the right could alone prevent its continuance. The general interests of the country required that a regular system of taxation upon the internal trade of the country should be established, and the constant practice even in England, as well as in other nations, justified the Government in demanding from individuals, on granting them full compensation for their present value, the surrender of privileges, which would counteract the effects contemplated by so beneficial a measure.

It

1788-89. Resolution to notify intended permanent settlement.

It was accordingly resolved, that the Board of Revenue should be directed to notify to the landholders that the settlement, if approved by the Court of Directors, would become permanent, and no alteration take place at the expiration of the ten years. The same instructions were issued to the collectors as to internal duties, &c.

1792. Court of Directors approve Lord Cornwallis's views.

The views of Lord Cornwallis were highly approved by the Directors, who assented to the proposed measures regarding the permanent settlement, but at the same time *lamented that better data had not been discovered.* Adverting to the extent of land that lay waste through the provinces, and to what had been the practice of the native governments in participating in the resources derivable from its progressive cultivation, they acquiesced in any arrangement which secured to the Company a similar participation in the wealth derivable from such a source, provided it could be effected without counteracting the principal object of encouraging industry, and be reconciled with the principle of the system about to be introduced. The demand from the land was the great and only source of revenue, and was now, with the exception of any addition which might be made from resumption, or what might arise from uncultivated lands, if that source should be available, fixed for ever. "It presented a most serious argument for strict economy in the expenditure of what was so limited,—for the utmost care that the known resources

1792.

resources being, on the one hand, restrained from increase, might on the other, be preserved from diminution." *

The whole subject of the revenue settlement had been anxiously considered by Mr. Pitt, in communication with the President of the Board. The information afforded by Mr. Shore had impressed the Minister so strongly in favour of his merits, that he desired to have some communication with the Chairs regarding that gentleman. What occurred, ultimately led to his being selected as a fit successor to Lord Cornwallis.

1793. Notification made as to permanent settlement.

On the receipt of the Court's despatch in Bengal, Lord Cornwallis notified by proclamation, on the 22d March 1793, to the zemindars and others, that the jumma which had been, or might be, assessed under the Regulations of 1789 and 1790, were fixed for ever.

Upon the policy of this most important step, opinions were much divided; of the benevolent and enlightened views of its principal supporter, no doubt can be entertained, but experience has gradually led to the conviction that nothing near a correct data had been arrived at when the assessments of 1789 and 1790 were made; that the attempt to create a landed aristocracy out of the hereditary contract agency, in managing the land revenue, was attended by a vast subversion of individual property, and the loss of a considerable portion

* Letter to Bengal, August 1792.

1793.

portion of revenue to the state, without securing that relief to the cultivator of the soil which formed one of the principal objects contemplated on the introduction of the system. The comparative ignorance in which legislation has been carried on, as regards India, is to be discovered in the measures originally contemplated upon this very subject. When the bill of 1784 was laid before the Directors, with the blanks filled up, it contained a clause which ordained that, to prevent future oppression, the *Government were to be required, under the Act, to fix an unalterable tribute rent*. This compulsory clause was omitted on a representation from the Directors.

Salt revenue.

As connected with the revenue, the regulations laid down for the manufacture of *salt* were revised. The general plan introduced by Mr. Hastings* was adhered to, but arrangements were made to remove all compulsion from the manufacturers, and to guard them against the impositions of the intermediate native agents, standing between the covenanted servants of the Company and the labourers in the manufactories.

Opium regulations revised.

The regulations under which the monopoly of *opium* had been rendered available as a source of revenue were also revised.

The

* *Vide* vol. i. page 563. The result of these measures increased the revenue from salt to £1,360,180 in 1811.

1793.
Civil Justice.

The attention of Lord Cornwallis was now directed to the internal administration of the Government, and in framing regulations for dispensing civil justice. As under the provisions of the Act of 1834 a new system may be laid down, an outline of that adopted by his lordship, and rendered by subsequent alterations applicable to the other presidencies, is given, in order to show what has existed.

The Directors, in their letter to Bengal of the 12th April 1786, with reference to a plan for the civil administration of justice among the natives, stated, " that they had been actuated by the necessity of accommodating their views and interests to the subsisting manners and usages of the people, rather than by any abstract theories drawn from other countries, or applicable to a different state of things."

Courts for the Provinces.

District courts were established for the administration of justice in the cities of Moorshedabad, Dacca, and Patna, superintended by a judge and magistrate: the office of collector in those situations not being necessary. Appeals were allowed from the provincial courts to the Governor-general in Council, in their capacity of judges of the sudder dewanny adawlut.

The Marquis Cornwallis determined, in 1793, to invest the collection of revenue and administration of

1793.

of justice in separate officers, to abolish the mal adawluts, or revenue courts, and to withdraw from the collectors of revenue all judicial powers, transferring the cognizance of all causes hitherto tried by the revenue officers to the dewanny adawlut. He then observed—"The proposed arrangements aim at ensuring a general obedience to the regulations we may institute, and at the same time impose some check upon ourselves against passing such as may ultimately prove detrimental to our own interests as well as the prosperity of the country. The natives have been accustomed to despotic rule from time immemorial, and are well acquainted with the miseries of their own tyrannic administrations. When they have experienced the blessings of good government, there can be no doubt to which of the two they will give the preference. We may, therefore, be assured that the happiness of the people, and the prosperity of the country, is the firmest basis on which we can build our political security."

Regulations in accordance with such views were passed in May 1793, the forty-first of which was termed, "a Regulation for forming into a regular code all Regulations that may be enacted for the internal government of the British territories in Bengal." The act of Parliament of 1797, which was passed on the 20th of July, incorporated the substance of the above regulation, by providing, that all regulations which should be issued and framed

1793. framed by the Governor-general in Council, affecting the rights, persons, or property of the natives, or of any other individuals who might be amenable to the provincial courts of justice, should be registered in the judicial department, and formed into a regular code, and printed with translations in the country languages, and that the grounds of each regulation should be prefixed to it. All the provincial courts of judicature were directed to be bound to regulate their decisions by such rules and ordinances as should be contained in the said regulations; and the Governor-general in Council to transmit annually to the Court of Directors of the East-India Company ten copies of such regulations as might be passed in each year, and the same number to the Board of Commissioners for the affairs of India.

The provisions of Regulation XLI. were extended to Benares in 1795, and to the Ceded and Conquered Provinces in 1803.

Civil Justice.

The Courts established for the administration of civil justice may be stated in their relative order of superiority, as follows:

1. The court of sudder dewanny adawlut, or principal court of civil judicature at the presidency.

2. The six provincial courts, *viz.* four in the lower

lower provinces of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa, and two in the upper provinces, including Benares. 1793.

3. The zillah and city dewanny adawluts, or civil courts.

4. Courts of the registers.

5. The courts of native commissioners.

As the sudder dewanny forms the ultimate court of appeal, the powers and duties of the several courts will be described, commencing with the zillah and city courts, with the subordinate court of registers and native commissioners; then the provincial courts: and, lastly, the court of sudder adawlut.

Zillah, and City Civil Courts.

These courts are all superintended by an European judge, assisted by a Mahomedan and Hindoo law officer; by a register, who, as well as the judge, is a covenanted servant of the Company; in some instances by an assistant to the register, being also a covenanted servant, and by an establishment of native ministerial officers.

The local jurisdiction of the court extended to all places included within the limits of the zillahs and cities in which they were respectively established. All natives, as well as Europeans and other persons, not British subjects, residing out of Calcutta, are amenable to the jurisdiction of the zillah and city courts, which are further declared to have jurisdiction over all British subjects, excepting

1793. cepting King's officers serving under the presidency of Fort William, and the military officers and covenanted civil servants of the Company, so far as not to allow them to reside within their respective jurisdictions at a greater distance than ten miles from Calcutta, unless they execute a bond, the form of which is prescribed in Regulation XXVIII. 1793, to render themselves amenable to the court within whose jurisdiction they may reside, in all suits of a civil nature that may be instituted against them by natives or other persons, not British subjects, in which the amount claimed may not exceed five hundred sicca rupees.

The zillah and city courts were respectively empowered to take cognizance of all suits and complaints respecting the succession or right to real or personal property, land-rents, revenues, debts, accounts, contracts, partnerships, marriage, caste, claims to damages for injuries; and generally, of all suits and complaints of a civil nature in which the defendant may be amenable to their jurisdiction.

Courts of Registers.

To prevent the time of the zillah and city judges from being occupied with the trial of petty suits, and consequently to enable them to determine causes of magnitude with greater expedition, the registers of their respective courts might try and decide suits in which the amount or value contested

was

was originally limited to two hundred rupees, but subsequently extended : an appeal lay to the zillah or city court. 1793.

Courts of Native Commissioners.

For the further relief of the judge of the zillah and city courts in the trial of petty suits, as well as to save the parties and witnesses, in such suits, from the inconvenience to which they would be subjected, by the necessity of attendance at the court of the zillah or city, for the general speedy administration of civil justice, the additional subordinate judicatures of the native commissioners were established. These officers are selected by the judges of the zillah and city courts, and submitted for the approbation of the superior courts. The native commissioners are of two classes, the sudder ameens and moonsiffs. The sudder ameens, or head commissioners, are empowered to try and determine suits which may be referred to them by the zillah or city judges. Their jurisdiction was originally limited to suits within one hundred rupees, but has since been extended. The zillah or city courts may refer suits in appeal from the decision of the sudder ameens to the registers.

The moonsiffs* receive, try, and determine suits preferred to them against any native inhabitant of their

* A just and equitable man,—native justice or judge, whose powers do not extend further than to suits for personal property to a limited amount.

1793. their respective divisions for money or other personal property: their jurisdiction was originally limited to fifty rupees, but has since been extended. From the decisions of the moonsiffs there is an appeal to the zillah or city judge, who is empowered to refer it to the register or to the sudder ameen. The claim must be for money really due, or for personal property, or for the value of such property, and not for damages on account of alleged personal injuries, or for personal damages of whatever nature.

Provincial Courts.

To provide against the possibility of unjust or erroneous decisions in the zillah and city courts, as well as to secure a strict regularity of proceeding in all such courts, their acts and decisions are subjected to appeal and to revision by a superior authority, which authority was vested in the six provincial courts—the first four of which were established in 1795; a fifth court was established at Benares; and in 1803-4 a sixth court, for the Ceded and Conquered Provinces. These courts each consisted of four judges, denominated first, second, third, and fourth judges: an appeal laid to them from decisions of the zillah and city courts, and they had primary jurisdiction within certain limits. The Marquis Cornwallis, in his minute of 11th February 1793, considered that these courts would be the great security to Government for the due

due execution of the Regulations, and barriers to the rights and property of the people. 1793.

Court of Sudder Dewanny Adawlut.

The highest civil court of appeal. It was fixed at the presidency, and consisted of a chief judge, and of as many puisne judges as the Governor-general in Council might, from time to time, deem necessary for the despatch of business of the court.

Criminal Justice.

In the administration of criminal justice the courts are guided generally by the Mahomedan law, excepting in cases wherein a deviation from it may have been expressly authorised by the Regulations of the British Government.

The administration of criminal justice, was, for some years after the Company's acquisition of the dewanny (1765), left, as formerly, to the Nazim, and the influence only of the Company's servants was exerted to remedy the deficiency of the law, or to promote the due execution of it, as appeared requisite in the cases that occurred. The regulations which were proposed by the Committee of Circuit, on the 15th August 1772, and adopted by the president in council on the 21st of that month, for the establishment of a court of criminal judicature, have been already described.*

In

* *Vide* vol. i. page 425—428.

1793.

In 1790, the Marquis Cornwallis pointed out, first, the gross defects in the Mahomedan law; and secondly, the defects in the constitution of the courts established for the trial of offenders.

Provisions to remedy the defects were included in a regulation of fifty-two articles, for the administration of justice in the foujdary and criminal courts in Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa, passed on the 3d December 1790; the Nizamut Adawlut being again removed from Moorshedabad, and permanently established at Calcutta. Instead of a native judge superintending the court, it was to consist of the Governor-general and members of the Supreme Council, assisted by the kazi-ool-kazat, or head kazi of the provinces, and two mooftees.

The three several branches of authority for the administration of criminal justice, were comprised under the following heads :—

1. Magistrates (including joint and assistant magistrates) and their assistants;
2. Courts of Circuit;
3. Courts of Nizamut Adawlut.

Magistrates.

By the Regulations of 1793, the zillah and city judges were constituted magistrates for the zillahs and districts in which they were respectively stationed. In 1810, the magistrates in certain zillahs were vested with concurrent authority in contiguous

1793.

tiguous or other jurisdictions as joint magistrates: and as in particular districts it was expected the police might be improved, and the discharge of the general duties of the office of magistrate essentially promoted, by the appointment of assistant magistrates, a regulation to that effect was accordingly passed. The magistrates, and joint and assistant magistrates, are, to the best of their ability, to preserve the peace of their zillah under the prescribed regulations. The police and other establishments of native officers employed under a zillah or city magistrate, and not ordered to be placed under the immediate authority of a joint or assistant magistrate, continue under the control of the city magistrate: at the same time they are to furnish every information required from them, and to obey all orders issued to them by such joint or assistant magistrate.

The established courts in the British provinces were not authorized to take cognisance of any charge against a native military officer, sepoy, trooper, or other person, for which he might already have been tried by court-martial. European subjects resident in the territories subject to the presidency of Fort William, before the enactments of the 53 Geo. III. cap 155, were amenable only to the Supreme Court of Judicature at Calcutta, for all acts of a criminal nature.

793.

Courts of Circuit.

There are six courts of circuit, each consisting of the four judges who compose the provincial court of appeal in the divisions already mentioned, under the head of civil justice, and of the kazee and mooftee attached to that court. The duties of the circuit, including the gaol deliveries at the principal stations, are in ordinary cases performed by the second, third, and fourth judges in regular succession, the first judge remaining fixed for conducting the public business at the principal station, unless otherwise ordered by the Governor-general in Council, or the Nizamut Adawlut, who may instruct the first judge to hold the session of jail delivery. The utility and importance of the circuits was represented to be, the provision thereby secured for the regular and impartial administration of criminal justice by experienced judges, and as superintending and controlling the local magistrates within their respective divisions.

*Court of Nizamut Adawlut.**

In 1793, the court of Nizamut Adawlut consisted of the Governor-general and members of the Supreme Council, assisted by the head kazee and two mooftees. In 1801, from the inability of the Governor-general, owing to the great pressure of public business, the Court was thenceforth to

* Superior court of criminal jurisdiction.

to consist of three judges, to be denominated respectively, chief judge, and second and third judge of the Nizamut Adawlut, assisted by the head kazee of Bengal, Bahar, Orissa, and Benares, and by two mooftees.

1793.

Police Establishment.

In forming the decennial settlement, the landholders and sudder farmers of lands, in conformity with former usage, were bound, by a clause in their engagements, to keep the peace, and in the event of robbery being committed on their respective estates or farms, to produce the robbers and property plundered; but the general impracticability of enforcing this engagement, rendered it of little effect. By the regulation of 1793, the police was accordingly declared to be under the exclusive charge of the officers who might be appointed to the superintendence of it on the part of the Government, and the landholders and farmers of land, who were before bound to keep up establishments of police officers for the preservation of the peace, were required to discharge them, and prohibited from entertaining such establishments in future. The zillah magistrates were at the same time required to divide their respective zillahs, including the rent-free lands, into police jurisdictions, each jurisdiction to be ten coss (twenty miles) square, except where local circumstances might render it advisable to form them

1793. them of greater or less extent; the guarding of each jurisdiction to be committed to a darogah or native superintendant, with an establishment of police officers to be paid by Government. The police establishment of every zillah (or magistrate's jurisdiction) may be stated to consist of a darogah,* with from ten to fifty burkundazes,† for every thanna or division of country, varying from one hundred to three hundred square miles. In cities, the extent of jurisdiction was regulated with reference to the population, but every where these thannas, with the magistrate's office, formed the stipendiary police establishments, introduced by the British Government in 1792, and maintained to the present day, without any alteration in principle, and with only a late subsidiary addition. This addition is the extension of the chokedarry‡ system of police. The principle upon which this addition was devised is, that every society should provide for its own internal protection in minor cases, beyond what can be provided for by Government from the general resources of the state, and whenever the society may not of itself have already devised a plan for the purpose, Government are of course justified in coming forward to require that it should do so, as well as in pointing out the form in which the object can

* A superintendant, or overseer.

† Men armed with matchlocks.

‡ Chokedar, a watchman.

can best be accomplished; they did accordingly require the members of the society to elect from amongst themselves a certain number of managers, with an establishment of watch and patrol, sufficient to provide for those objects. Superintendants of police are established for the divisions of the lower and western provinces. It is their duty to keep themselves constantly informed, by communication with the local magistrates, and with the darogahs of police, and by every other practicable means of inquiry, of the actual state of the police in the several zillahs and cities comprised within their respective jurisdictions.

1793.

Tippoo's aggressions at Travancore.

The suspicions which Lord Cornwallis had entertained regarding the views of Tippoo Sultaun were not without foundation, although the intentions of that wary chief might have been precipitated by the conduct of the Rajah of Travancore, who in 1789 was drawn into a negotiation by the Dutch, when they offered to sell his highness the two ports of Cranganore and Jaycottah, in the provinces of Malabar and Cochin. The Portuguese were possessed of a fort at Cochin at the commencement of the sixteenth century, and in 1663 the Dutch became possessed of it by right of conquest. When Hyder had overrun the Malabar coast in 1766, in writing to the Government

1793. ment of Bombay, he thanks God he had subdued all the coast, from the Cape of Ramo to Penany. Cochin, in which Cranganore is situated, lies much to the southward of Cape Penany; and although Tippoo in his immediate ravages may have exacted tribute from the province, there is nothing to establish that either Cranganore or Jaycottah were subject to him, or that the Dutch had not the power of parting with possessions they had acquired for upwards of a century, before even Hyder, Tippoo's father, had become known as a separate and powerful chief. It was good policy of the Dutch to sell that which they apprehended would be taken from them by Tippoo; but as a matter of discretion on the part of the Rajah of Travancore, it might have been prudent to have abstained from any proceeding likely to involve hostilities with Mysore.

The error, if it be one, was committed—it could not be repaired but by an humiliating concession to Tippoo, which, after what had passed, would have involved the character of the British Government.

Tippoo determined to prevent, if possible, the offer of the Dutch being accepted by the Rajah of Travancore. He attacked the lines, but was repulsed on the 29th of December, and retired in order to procure supplies to enable him to make regular approaches against the forts. The late Sir Thomas Munro, when writing to his father from Amboor,

Amboor, in January 1790, alluded to the transactions in the following terms:— 1793.

A second attack is daily expected, and if the King is left alone, all his exertions against a force so superior can delay but for a very short time his ruin. The English battalions were behind the lines, but not at the place attacked: and it is said they have orders not to act, even on the defensive. If such be the case, the Rajah ought to dismiss them with scorn. The distinction made between recent acquisitions and ancient territory appears to be a subterfuge of Government to cloak their dread of war under a pretended love of peace, for Cranganore was a fair purchase of the Dutch from the Rajah of Cochin, subject to an annual tribute of thirty-five rupees. Before we can assemble an army to face the enemy, Tippoo may be in possession of Travancore. We have derived but little benefit from experience and misfortune. The year 1790 sees us as little prepared as that of 1780, and before the war. We shall commence the war under the disadvantage of a want of magazines. The distresses and difficulties which we then encountered from them, has not cured us of the narrow policy of preferring a small present saving to a certain though future great and essential advantage.

Every word of this letter was almost prophetic. In the following spring Tippoo effected his objects. He subdued Travancore, laid waste the country, and took the fortresses of Cranganore and Jaycottah, possessing himself of all the northern portions of the province of Travancore. The conduct of the Madras Government, during these proceedings, excited the strongest indignation in the mind of Lord Cornwallis. His lordship reprobated the supineness

1790-91.

supineness which they had manifested in making preparations to support the Rajah, and adverting to the general state of the Company's affairs on the coast, determined to take temporary charge of the government of Fort St. George, but relinquished his intentions on learning that General Medows had been appointed to succeed Mr. Holland as governor. The general reached Madras by the *Vestal* frigate on the 20th of February 1790, from Bombay. On the 31st of March he wrote to the Court of Directors in the following terms:

General Medows arrives at Madras.

His letter to the Court.

I found things in that state of confusion that is generally attendant on a change of systems. Whether a civil or a military governor is best, I shall not take upon me to determine; but either is certainly better, I conceive, than neither, or both. We have a long arrear both from and to us. His highness the Nabob is so backward in his payments, so oppressive to his poligars, that at this time it is so necessary to have on our side, that I conceive it will be absolutely necessary, upon his first material delay of payment, to take the management of his country into your own hands: a measure, in spite of the opposition to it, so advantageous to you, the country, and even to his highness himself, when so wisely projected and ably executed by Lord Macartney. I came here at a most critical period, with many things of importance to decide upon in a less time than many prudent people would have thought necessary to decide upon one: but the approaching war with Tippoo was one of the most important. I heard and read all upon the subject a short time would allow of, and then adopted the plan laid down by Colonel Musgrave, which I thought the best, and which, from circumstances, it was very probable he would have to execute

1790-91.

execute himself; for in the present situation of this government it would be impossible I could leave it. Why, when four is allowed to be the best number for a government, you submit to there generally being but three, I cannot imagine; but should this ever be put upon a proper footing, and I was sure I left people behind me upon whose assistance and support I could depend, I should naturally like best to be where I thought I was likeliest to be of most service, and that is naturally in the field. I conceive the expense will be six lacs of pagodas a month, and can conceive any thing but how or where we shall get the money, even stopping investments, &c. &c. However unfortunate a war is, when inevitable, it should be made, if possible, short, brilliant, and decisive; and if ever there was an appearance of it, it is now, when the Nizam and the Mahrattas are in alliance with us, when the French cannot assist Tippoo, and when, if the injured nairs and oppressed poligars can be convinced we will never a second time deceive them, they will be with us, and when with a detachment from Bombay, and above all things, justice on our side, we may talk, without presumption, I hope, of treating with this tyrant in his capital, obliging him to restore the ancient limits of the Carnatic, and remain on his own side of the Ghauts, at least for our time. Zealous to contribute my mite towards it, and though I would give the world to have done, (for your annual appointment, handsome as it is, would not pay me daily for the life I lead,) I will never leave the vessel in a storm while you think I can steer her.

Since writing the foregoing, Lord Cornwallis having suspended Messrs. Holland and Taylor, and our having appointed Mr. Irving and Mr. Saunders till your pleasure is known, in their place, I am enabled to go to the army, which I mean to do the middle of the month. If the rains in October impede the army, I shall immediately return to the

1790.

the presidency, which I think a governor should never quit but when he thinks the army in worse hands than his own, which, with Colonel Musgrave at the head, is far from being my case.

Army assembled.

An army of fifteen thousand men was assembled in the Carnatic, under the command of General Medows, and one of about eight thousand at Bombay, under General Abercrombie, the latter to act against Tippoo's possessions in the Ghauts; the grand army to march towards Coimbatore, and afterwards to penetrate into Mysore, the Mahrattas and the Nizam co-operating, by making a diversion on the north.

General Medows joins it.

The general proceeded to join the army on the 7th of May,* the council delegating to him the power of ordering and conducting the war, of making agreements with the poligars of the Carnatic, as well as with the nairs and the other dependents of Tippoo. The centre army, under Colonel Kelly, was ordered into the field in July, for the protection of the country against the incursions of Tippoo's cavalry. The command devolved upon Lieutenant-colonel Maxwell, on the death of Colonel Kelly in the month of October; the management of the Carnatic being assumed by the Company during the war. The arrears of revenue to meet the charges in July amounted to nearly twenty-two lacs of pagodas. The Directors having been advised of these measures, felt that it

* Letters from Bengal, 16th Sept. 1790.

1790.

Court of Directors approve proceedings of Lord Cornwallis.

it might be satisfactory to the Governor-general to know that the preparations he had made for a vigorous prosecution of the war against Tippoo Sultan had met with their entire approbation; and although they had no official advice of the treaties in contemplation with the Nizam and Mahrattas, yet they concurred in the general principles on which it was proposed they should be based, and were thoroughly sensible of the zeal and abilities which dictated a measure so consonant to every principle of sound policy. Under circumstances so satisfactory, and in the firmest reliance on the professional talents of General Medows, and on the bravery of the troops under his command, they expected, with confidence, a speedy and successful termination to the hostilities; and they signified their full approbation of the measure adopted by the Supreme Government for suspending Mr. John Holland, and desired that he should be sent home. The Court at the same time transmitted a copy of the convention with Spain, signed at the Escurial on the 28th of October.

General Medows took Caroor, Coimbatore, and Dindigul. Tippoo surprised and attacked an expedition under Colonel Floyd, but was repulsed at Shoroor, after an obstinate engagement, his brother-in-law being killed. Avoiding a general action, he returned from the Ghauts, drawing off the English forces from his own possessions; and

passing

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passing through the Carnatic, committed the most dreadful ravages.

Treaty between the Company, the Peishwa, and the Nizam.

A treaty of alliance between the Company, the Peishwa, and the Nizam, against Tippoo, was entered into on the 1st of June 1790. The friendship existing between the parties was to be increased by the present treaty; and it was declared that Tippoo having, notwithstanding engagements with the contracting parties, acted with infidelity to all, they have united in a league to punish him, and to deprive him of the means of disturbing the general tranquillity in future.

Lord Cornwallis determines to remain in India.

In the month of November Lord Cornwallis, then in Bengal, expressed his acknowledgments to the Court of Directors in the following terms, for the arrangements which had been made to enable him to resign:—"Earnestly anxious as I am, for many reasons, to return to the enjoyment of private life at home, and to the superintendence of those family concerns that are most nearly interesting to me, I have not been able to reconcile it to my mind that, in the present situation of the Company's affairs in this part of the globe, it would be consistent with a due discharge of the duty which I owe to my country, if I should now persevere in carrying my original intention into execution, and I have therefore determined to postpone my resignation."

After expressing the high opinion which he entertained of General Medows's professional abilities,

1790-91.

abilities, and the great confidence which he had in his zeal to promote the public good, his lordship observed, that it was not possible for him to imagine that the war would be conducted with more success under his own immediate direction. Yet, as Tippoo might have an opportunity, during our inactivity, to turn his whole force against our allies, and, unless counteracted by us, he might prevail upon them to treat for a separate peace; he resolved to step beyond his regular line of duty, and to proceed to the coast, in order to convince Tippoo that it was the intention of Government to persevere in a vigorous prosecution of the war, and to endeavour to bring it to an honorable and satisfactory termination. The Madras Council were apprised of his lordship's intention, and on the 19th of November he embarked at Calcutta, on the *Vestal* frigate, and reached Fort St. George on the 13th December. A strong prejudice against embarking on board ship had been created in the minds of the sepoys, in consequence of two grenadiers belonging to detachments sent from Bengal to Madras in 1767, being lost returning by sea to Calcutta, in 1769. This circumstance, coupled with their religious prejudices, made such an impression, that it required much conciliatory management to overcome. The firm and temperate conduct of Lord Cornwallis, with the encouragement which he extended to the native soldiers, surmounted their scruples in 1789, when the four companies of volunteers

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volunteers were raised for service at Bencoolen, from three battalions of the four regiments, then at Calcutta. The attention and marks of consideration given to the comfort of the troops, were amply repaid by the zeal and alacrity displayed by the detachment throughout the service; and on the present occasion, when his lordship proceeded by sea to Madras, and again in 1791, when nine hundred volunteers were required to fill up the battalions serving in Mysore, such was the spirit of emulation evinced by the troops, that more than the required number turned out forthwith, and reached Madras in eight days from the requisition.

Measures for advancing against Mysore.

Having examined the condition of the army and the state of the supplies, and arranged a plan for the ensuing campaign, Lord Cornwallis determined to penetrate into Mysore, direct from Madras, and to attempt some of the passes about the middle of the Carnatic.

The Peishwa and the Nizam were to furnish not less than twenty-five thousand men, and immediately to invade the territories of Tippoo, and reduce as much of his dominions as possible, before and during the rains, on Mr. Malet and Captain Kennaway, the residents at these courts, announcing to each that hostilities had commenced. Equal division was to be made of the acquisitions, should the joint forces be successful. If the Company's forces made any acquisition from the enemy previously

1790.

previously to the commencement of hostilities by the other parties, those parties were not to be entitled to any share thereof. If certain polygars and zemindars, dependent on the Peishwa or Nizam, were dispossessed by any of the allies, they were to be restored; and should the polygars or zemindars act unfaithfully towards the Peishwa or the Nizam, the latter authorities were to treat them as might be judged proper. A separate agreement was entered into with the Nizam and the Bengal Government, under which, from four to six battalions were to march from Bengal, to join his highness.*

A signal victory had been obtained on the coast of Malabar over the enemy by Colonel Hartley, near Calicut. Cannanore and other places were captured, by which the Paniani river was opened, and the whole of the Malabar coast cleared.

The

* It was affirmed on the authority of M. de Moleville, minister of the marine department in France, and much in the confidence of the royal family, that early in 1791 a secret message was received by the King of France from Tippoo for the aid of six thousand French troops, he paying for their transport, clothing, and maintenance: Tippoo's object being to destroy the British power and supplant it by that of their European rival. Why should this statement be doubted? for within these two years we see M. Allard from Runjeet Sing at Paris, it is true in no *avowed* character of diplomacy, but as a general in Runjeet's service; we have also a mission from Oude, originally entrusted to a Colonel Du Bois. This officer's questionable pretensions has led to the mission devolving on Mr. Friel. What messages, or instructions, may not have been entrusted to these parties?

1790. The Mahrattas were before Darwar, which was daily expected to fall. The Nizam's army had taken Cummum, and was before Cossul, the surrender of which would effectually secure the northern circars. These operations were expected to confine Tippoo within the Mysore country, and it was hoped that the ensuing campaign would terminate the war: "the expenses of which," Lord Cornwallis remarked in a letter to the Court, "would be a heavy burden on the Company for several years, even with the resources to be derived from the management of the Carnatic and Tanjore; the prospect of relief will be very distant indeed, if the management of those countries goes back to the Nabob and Rajah, on whom the smallest dependance cannot be placed."

1791. Directors approve Lord Cornwallis's conduct.

The Court of Directors expressed the high sense which they entertained of the zeal of Lord Cornwallis in having waved all personal considerations, by determining, after the commencement of hostilities, to remain in his station so long as he thought his presence would prove of advantage to the public interests. They repeated their approbation of the principles upon which the treaties with the Nizam and the Mahrattas were framed, and received the intelligence of their final conclusion with great pleasure and satisfaction. The following resolution of the House of Commons of the 2d March 1791, in connexion with those treaties, was forwarded to Bengal:

Resolved,

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Resolution of House of Commons.

Resolved, That it appears to this House that the treaties entered into with the Nizam on the 1st June, and with the Mahrattas on the 7th July, are wisely calculated to add vigour to the operations of war, and to promote the future tranquillity of India, and that the faith of the British nation is pledged to the due performance of engagements contained in the said treaties.

Mr. Malet and Capt. Kennaway created baronets.

The Court, on referring to the papers connected with the affairs at Poonah and Hyderabad, fully concurred with the Government in the opinion they had expressed of the zeal and abilities of Mr. Malet and Captain Kennaway, the ministers at those respective courts, and they had great pleasure in announcing that his Majesty, as a mark of his royal approbation of their conduct, and in consideration of the services rendered by their exertions to the British interests in India, had been graciously pleased to confer upon them the dignity of baronets. The Court were deeply penetrated with a sense of his Majesty's most gracious attention to the interests of the East-India Company, in this mark of royal distinction towards two gentlemen, whose merits in the situation they held in the Company's service had been so eminently conspicuous.

Declines a resident at Holkar's Court.

Tokajee Holkar having expressed a desire that a resident from the Company should be stationed with him, the Directors concurred in the opinion of the Supreme Government, that it was inexpedient to meet the wishes of that chief. But at

1791-92. this time the authorities, neither at home nor in India, anticipated the rapid strides Holkar would make to a station of eminence amongst the Mahratta powers.

The Court learned with satisfaction that the greater part of the Mahratta artillery had crossed the Kistna by August 1790, and that the remainder, with the whole of their force under Purseram Bhow, was to follow immediately.

Tippoo's agents had received their dismission from the Poonah durbar on the 4th of the same month.

Proceedings against Tippoo fully approved.

After an attentive consideration of the whole of the circumstances connected with the proceedings of Tippoo against Travancore, the Court expressed a decided opinion that the Company were bound to defend the Rajah, Tippoo's conduct being a clear infraction of the treaty of Mangalore, and they fully approved of the Government prosecuting the war against him with the utmost vigour.

The measures of the Bengal Government had been brought under consideration of both Houses of Parliament, where eulogies were passed on Lord Cornwallis: but it was stated that he was a military man; that the course of politics at home was bad as regarded India and Europe. The pacific declaration in the act of 1784 was called for, and recited to the House, when a motion was made that it was contrary to the honour, policy, and wish of this nation, to enter into hostilities for

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for conquest; that there was no just cause for war with Tippoo, and that it was the duty of the Board and of the Court to transmit orders to India for the conclusion of a peace. Amongst the peers who supported the motion was Lord Rawdon, who, at that period, little contemplated that on the same field, and under very similar circumstances, he should at a future period be directing the councils, and commanding an army against the native chiefs, for which his motives, in a political point of view, were questioned as closely as his lordship now criticised those of Lord Cornwallis. Lord Rawdon reposed the utmost confidence in Lord Cornwallis, from his approved worth, but he reprobated the war in the strongest manner; he considered our government there to be founded in injustice, and originally established by force, and that, erected by force, it could not stand on confidence. Nevertheless, he confined his support to the first part of the resolution, reserving his opinion as to the other portion for a future opportunity.

Lord Rawdon condemns war against Tippoo as uncalled-for.

Lord Grenville stated that he would support so much of the resolution, were it needed, but the principle had been recorded and repeatedly admitted. He felt that it was only now brought forward to introduce a violent censure on the proceedings in India. The war had broken out suddenly; there had not been time to consult the Home authorities, and had he been in Lord Cornwallis's

Lord Grenville supports it.

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wallis's position, he should have followed a similar line of conduct.

Parliament came to the following resolutions :

Parliament approves of it.

Resolved, That it appears to this House, that the attacks made by Tippoo Sultaun on the lines of Travancore on the 29th December 1789, 6th March, and 15th April 1790, were unwarranted and unprovoked infractions of the treaty entered into at Mangalore on the 10th March 1784.

Resolved, That it appears to this House, that the conduct of the Governor-general of Bengal, in determining to prosecute with vigour the war against Tippoo Sultaun, in consequence of the attack on the territories of the Rajah of Travancore, was highly meritorious.

An Act was at this time passed, confirming the powers vested in Lord Cornwallis by the Council to act upon his own responsibility during the war, and sanctioning the acts already performed under those powers.

An offer had been made by the Rajah of Berar to aid the Company with a force of eight thousand cavalry, but on such exorbitant terms, as to cause the Government to reject the offer, which was approved by the Court.

Army advances.

At the close of January 1791, Lord Cornwallis moved forward. On the 21st of February the grand army entered Mysore ; various forts successively surrendered on the approach of the troops. General Abercrombie took possession of the Coorg pass on the 27th of February. The advance, under Colonel Hartley, was strongly posted on the top, about

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about fifty miles from Seringapatam. On the 5th March, the grand army, after experiencing a trifling opposition from the enemy, encamped within sight of Bangalore. In the morning of the 7th the pettah of Bangalore was carried by assault, in which Colonel Morehouse fell. In testimony of respect for this officer's valuable and gallant services, his remains were taken to Madras, and interred with military honours, a monument being erected to his memory by the Company.

Colonel Morehouse killed.

On the 12th the batteries opened against the fort. On the 21st, a practicable breach being effected, Lord Cornwallis determined to storm the place that night: and to prevent Tippoo learning his intention, he did not make it known till the moment of carrying it into execution. The assault began at eleven at night: complete success attended the measure, and in two hours the British standard floated on the ramparts. Lord Cornwallis then moved northward, to meet a large reinforcement of the Nizam's cavalry, by which he was joined, and, in order to bring the war to a termination, notwithstanding the season was far advanced, pressed on towards Seringapatam, encountering great difficulties and embarrassments from the nature of the roads. Tippoo had returned and posted himself between his capital and the English army. He made an overture for a separate peace on the 27th of March, but was answered by Lord Cornwallis, that he could encourage no propositions

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positions which did not include the allies of the Company. A general engagement took place on the 15th of May: the enemy were driven under the guns of Seringapatam, and there was every prospect of its falling into our hands, when scarcity began to appear in the camp, and the unexpected delay in the arrival of the Mahrattas, deprived the army of a covering force.

Lord Cornwallis falls back.

Lord Cornwallis determined to fall back on Bangalore. At the completion of the first day's march, the 26th May 1791, the appearance of a large body of horse riding in on the baggage flanks created great alarm; it proved, however, to be the advanced guard of the Mahratta army, the main body being at no great distance. With this reinforcement, and all fear of want being removed, the army was again encamped before Seringapatam; but as the monsoon was expected to set in, the siege was deferred to the ensuing season, and Lord Cornwallis retired northwards.

In the interim, the strong fortresses of Nundydroog and Savendroog were taken by assault, the former in October, and the latter in December 1791. The fort of Ryacottah, with various hill forts, also surrendered.

Reply of Gen. Medows to notification of his appointment as Governor-general.

At this period intelligence reached General Medows, whilst in camp near Savendroog, that the Court of Directors had nominated him to succeed Lord Cornwallis when he should relinquish the government in Bengal. The reply of the general

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ral to this communication was characteristic of the frank and gallant soldier, whilst it at the same time evinced a rectitude of principle highly honourable, at a period when suspicions had been so generally excited regarding the acts of former members of Council at Madras.

Though the elements, more faithful allies to Tippoo than either the Nizam's troops or the Mahrattas to us, have obliged us to defer the siege of Seringapatam, I still flatter myself it is only postponed, and not put off farther than from June to January, when, if he does not make a peace, which I take to be so much the interest of all parties, the loss of his capital, I hope and expect, will be soon followed by the loss of his kingdom. Lord Cornwallis, who sees every thing, who does every thing, and who is every thing, will, I hope, have the peace in such forwardness by January, as to enable me to go home with propriety, while he stays another year, to complete the great and arduous undertaking he so happily began, has so nobly continued, and, I have no doubt, will so perfectly conclude, to his own honour and your satisfaction. But should things take another turn, and there should not be peace, though I beg leave to decline going to Bengal after January 1792, I will never quit this country till I have commanded the storming party at Seringapatam, or until the war is over. When, after the handsome and independent fortune I shall have made in your service (I should guess about forty thousand pounds, but I will tell you the uttermost farthing the moment I know it), entirely by proper saving from your liberal appointments, if you shall think "the labourer worthy of his hire," I shall be most amply compensated.

Second advance against Seringapatam.

In February 1792, Lord Cornwallis arrived before Seringapatam for the second time. Tippoo was

1792. was with his army in a fortified camp on the river Cauvery. His lordship determined to dislodge him the following night: after detailing the plan of attack, his lordship commanding the centre, General Medows the right, and Colonel Maxwell the left, the army moved forward: the enemy were driven across the Cauvery, which river surrounds Seringapatam, their redoubts taken, and a lodgment made in the island by a detachment from the centre division. During the operations, Lord Cornwallis was in imminent danger, the greater part of his detachment being separated from him in the confusion of a nocturnal attack.

Dangerous position of Lord Cornwallis.

The right column, by a concurrence of several of those untoward circumstances to which attacks in the night must ever be liable, was delayed, and disappointed in executing the part of the general arrangement that had been assigned to it.

The route of its intended march was across a space of country which, though apparently open, was cut by several difficult ravines, with a deep watercourse running through it, the channel of which wound so much, that the column was obliged to pass it two or three times in endeavouring to march straight to the point of attack; and the guides who conducted it, having been instructed to avoid the great roads, lost the proper direction of the march, and unluckily carried the head of the column close to the east gate redoubt: before the mistake could be rectified, the

the ardour of those that led engaged them in the assault. 1792.

Great pains had been taken in constructing the redoubt and in providing it with cannon; Tippoo had also entrusted the defence of it to a large body of the choicest of his infantry; the struggle was therefore violent, and for a short time almost doubtful, for the first efforts of our troops, though gallant to the utmost degree, were unsuccessful: it was not carried at last without much effusion of blood on both sides.

General Medows immediately occupied the post with a strong detachment, and being within the bound hedge, moved toward the point of the enemy's position, at which it had been intended originally that he should penetrate. But the firing having long before ceased, at the attacks of the other two columns, he concluded that the defeat of the enemy had been completed, and finding great difficulty from swamps and ravines in marching within the bound hedge, he returned to the outside of it, and proceeded along its front to the Karigut Pagoda, where he expected to be in immediate communication with the other divisions of the army. In the mean time, however, part of the enemy's centre and left, having a little recovered from the panic with which they had been struck by our success against their right, made a disposition, and advanced about an hour before the day began to break with a considerable degree of order

1792. order and resolution, to attack the troops that occupied the ground at which we had first penetrated. Lord Cornwallis having luckily retained with himself near four battalions, for the security of that point, the enemy were beaten and driven back after a sharp conflict; day approaching fast, and the ground on which his lordship stood being commanded by the guns of the fort, it was necessary to move from thence soon after, leaving a detachment in possession of the redoubt on the enemy's right, which had been carried in the beginning of the action.

Great and repeated exertions were made by Tippoo during the succeeding day to retake the redoubt, which the vicinity of the fort, and the excessive fatigue of the troops, rendered it difficult for us to succour: but his efforts proving fruitless, he desisted from the attempt in the afternoon. In the course of the following night he evacuated all the other redoubts in his possession on the north side of the river, and retired within Seringapatam.

The trenches against Seringapatam opened on the night of the 18th February, ample preparations having been made for the assault.* Orders were issued on the 22d February to desist from further hostilities; negotiations for peace having been brought to a close by the signing of preliminaries on the 24th, by which Tippoo was to

Preliminaries of peace.

* Letter from Lord Cornwallis, Camp, 4th March 1792.

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to cede half his dominions to the allied powers, *viz.* the British, the Nizam, and the Mahrattas; to pay three crore and thirty lacs of rupees (nearly £3,500,000), to restore the whole of the prisoners who had been captured from the time of Hyder; and to deliver two of his sons as hostages, for the fulfilment of the treaty. Tippoo procrastinated the negotiation as long as possible, and was actually engaged, with increasing diligence, in repairing the damages of the fort, absolutely refusing to yield up some territory on the borders of the Coorg Rajah. Lord Cornwallis immediately issued orders for the recommencement of the siege, and for the two princes to be sent to the Carnatic; these determined and prompt proceedings led to Tippoo's signing the definitive treaty, on the 19th March 1792.

Lord Cornwallis returns to Bengal.

His lordship reached Madras on the 29th of May, and returned to Bengal 28th July 1792, when he was fully engaged in completing the new systems, already noticed, for the administration of the revenue and judicial affairs of the Company's territories, including those acquired under the treaty with Tippoo.

Treaty with the Nabob of the Carnatic.

In July 1792, Lord Cornwallis concluded a new treaty with the Nabob of the Carnatic, Mahomed Ali. All former engagements were annulled, his highness having represented that the resources of the Carnatic were not adequate to meet the demands arising out of the treaty of 1787. By the present

1792. present treaty, all the forts in the Carnatic were to be garrisoned by the Company's troops, and in the event of war breaking out in the country, the Company were to possess full authority over it, they paying one-fifth of the net revenue to the Nabob. At the conclusion of hostilities the revenues were to be restored to the Nabob.

He was to pay nine lacs of star pagodas annually, as his share of the expense for the military force, and six lacs 21,105 star pagodas for the liquidation of his debts, making an aggregate of 15 lacs 21,105. The peshcush payable by the polygars, was to be collected by the Company at their own expense and risk; it amounted to 2,64,704 star pagodas, and formed part of the aggregate before-mentioned.

Allegiance on the part of the polygars to the Nabob was to be enforced by the Company.

If the Nabob required troops to aid in the collection of his revenues, they were to be supplied by the Company, on a representation to the Government of Madras; it being left to the option of the Nabob to reimburse the expense for such troops at the conclusion of the service, or to add it to the debit side of the account.

The results of this treaty were by no means deemed satisfactory:—during the life of Mahomed Ali no effectual attempt was made to obtain a modification of its provisions.

Accounts of the success against Tippoo having been

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Lord Cornwallis's conduct in the war highly applauded.

been received by the Court of Directors, they expressed their high sense of Lord Cornwallis's great and noble exertions. They considered that the mode of prosecuting the war, could only be equalled by the wisdom that dictated the precise period for the cessation of hostilities. They trusted that the circumstances would be productive of a good effect upon all, and that even Tippoo himself, hitherto the formidable and restless enemy of the British interests in India, might be induced from the transactions of the war and the acquisitions gained from him by the peace, to pursue a line of conduct more consonant to his true interests, and that in future they might experience in him a conversion from a bitter enemy to an useful ally. Without entering further into a detailed consideration of the advantages that would result from the late definitive treaty by the valuable territory the Company had acquired, and the strength that had been added to their frontier and to that of their allies, or of the brilliant achievements that procured it, the Court requested that Lord Cornwallis would accept their unanimous thanks for the very great and highly important services he had rendered to the East-India Company.

Thanks were voted to the army; the gratuity proposed by the Bengal Government was ratified by the Court, with a grant of six months' batta in addition.

Unanimous thanks were also voted by the Proprietors.

On

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Mr. Shore appointed to succeed as Governor-general.

On the 21st September the Court, contemplating the probability of a vacancy in the offices of Governor-general and commander-in-chief, by the return of Lord Cornwallis to Europe. Having taken into consideration the distinguished services of Mr. Shore in the various important stations he had filled, under the government of Bengal, they resolved to appoint him successor to Lord Cornwallis; as he was in England at the time, it was determined that he should draw ten thousand current rupees per month, from the day of his embarkation until he assumed the office of governor-general.

Sir Robert Abercromby Commander-in-chief in India.

Major-general Sir Robert Abercromby, K.B., then Governor of Bombay, was appointed commander in-chief in India, with a seat in the supreme council on the first vacancy.

Nepaul and Lassa.

A dispute having arisen between the Rajahs of Nepaul and Lassa, the former applied to the Supreme Government for military aid. The Government recommended conciliatory measures, and offered to mediate between the parties. Little being known regarding Nepaul and Assam, Captain Kirkpatrick, with Lieutenants Scott and Welsford were sent to make surveys, and to acquire information as to the population, manners, customs, trade, and manufactures of those countries. Messrs. Duncan and Boddam were deputed, in the month of December, to the Malabar coast, for the purpose of settling the jumma, and

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and the Governor-general at the same time accepted the offer of Major Macdonald, then in the service of the Nabob of Arcot, to proceed to Europe, *viâ* Egypt, for the purpose of obtaining information respecting the means of securing a communication with Europe by the Red Sea. The Directors presented Major Macdonald with fifteen thousand rupees to defray his expenses. Lord Cornwallis announced to the several native powers his intention to relinquish the government in the month of August. His Lordship adopted this step from a desire to prepare their minds for the change, and for the succession of Mr. Shore as governor-general. His communication to the Nabob Vizier of Oude pressed upon his excellency's attention the embarrassed state of his affairs, arising from an immense accumulation of debt, and his disregard of every admonition to observe a system of proper economy: "I tell you what you would probably never hear from those who consider flattery as a duty: a little exertion may soon rectify the evils which are now so many and so alarming."

Permanent settlement.

The important measure of the permanent revenue settlement already noticed, was at this time carried into effect.* The Court had stated in their despatch of September 1792, that they owed it to the meritorious conduct of the Governor-general that he should have the satisfaction, before leaving India,

* 12th August 1793.

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India, of announcing the final completion of a plan he had so much at heart.

In promulgating the arrangement, every endeavour was taken to impress upon the landholders the value of the privileges conferred upon them, and the right of the Company to re-establish the inland duties, and to assess all alienated lands that might revert to Government, as well as to interfere as sovereigns between the ryot and the landholder.

Measures were adopted to effect a settlement on the Andamans, by clearing the ground, in accordance with the recommendation contained in the reports from Capt. Blair, it being anticipated that those islands would turn out very productive, and afford abundant supplies to the shipping.

Lord Cornwallis, on war with France, proceeds again to Madras from Calcutta.

On the receipt of the declaration of war against France, Lord Cornwallis proceeded to Madras, for the purpose of superintending operations against Pondicherry, and other measures calculated to reduce the French power in India. That settlement had been besieged and taken before his lordship reached the coast. As the state of public affairs did not call for his lordship's presence again in Bengal, he embarked from Madras for Europe in the month of October 1793.

The East-India Company, on the 23d January 1793, resolved unanimously, that the statue of the Marquis Cornwallis should be placed in the courtroom at the India House, "that his great services might

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might be ever had in remembrance;" and they passed another unanimous resolution in the month of June granting to his lordship an annuity of £5,000, in consideration of the zeal, ability, and disinterestedness manifested by him in the conduct of the Company's affairs. The annuity was to commence from the date of his quitting India, and was to be paid to his lordship's heirs, executors, administrators or assigns, for the term of twenty years.

Annuity of £5,000 granted Lord Cornwallis.

The first administration under the new system could not have been entrusted to a more distinguished nobleman, or to any personage better fitted to promote the objects for which it was framed, than Marquis Cornwallis.

His unimpeachable honour and integrity secured to him the unlimited confidence of all parties, and the unanimous support that was so cordially extended to all his measures, presented a singular and beneficial contrast to the turmoil and opposition which had been encountered by Mr. Hastings. Another advantage was derived from his lordship's combining, in his own person, the two offices of governor-general and commander-in-chief; a measure which has much to recommend its adoption, where a fit instrument can be selected for so important, so delicate, and so responsible a trust.

With the most anxious disposition to be governed by the Parliamentary declaration to avoid wars and conquests, his lordship still found that the character and bearing of the native states, and the Com-

1793. pany's relations with them, compelled him to unsheath the sword; and although he successfully terminated the hostilities in which he became unavoidably involved, the result sowed the seeds of enmity and distrust, which, coupled with native duplicity and foreign intrigue, paved the way to those subsequent events, which are shortly to be recorded.

CHAPTER IV.

1793. Reflections on the state of Europe.

NATIONS, as well as individuals, may derive instructive lessons from experience, and although such lessons be dearly purchased, the ultimate benefit may be more than commensurate with their cost.

The existence of the Commonwealth taught England to appreciate the blessings of a regulated monarchy, whilst the Revolution still admonishes her people of the value which their forefathers placed on a Protestant constitution.

The vicious rule so long exercised over the people of France, with the profligacy and meretricious splendour of the Court, sapped the foundations of all sound morality; whilst the political measures of the monarch constrained thousands of his most valuable subjects to seek refuge in a foreign land from the effects of religious persecution. Thus the seeds were sown of that tremendous revolution, the effects of which were felt throughout Europe at the close of the eighteenth century.

It would be in vain to discuss at the present day the question, whether England might have acted a wiser

1793. a wiser part in abstaining from all interference in the domestic quarrel of her continental neighbour, or whether her rulers might not have rested her defence against the inroads of infidelity and republicanism on the affections of the people to their monarch, and their attachment to the laws and constitutions of their country. Amongst those who advocated the latter course were some of our most distinguished statesmen. They loved the constitution because it was based on the belief that in its established form of King, Lords, and Commons, it was well calculated to advance and to secure the welfare and happiness of man: but they strenuously urged the removal of all disabilities or causes of dissatisfaction or discontent, in Scotland, Ireland, or elsewhere: and above all they pressed the necessity of a reform in the representation of the country. It is possible that the state and circumstances of the times might have rendered these measures questionable. They have since been effected, and we may now act most wisely by looking to our own welfare, and that of our various dependencies, rather than embark in the quarrels of other countries, much as we may deplore the effects of bigotry and superstition, or commiserate the sufferings inflicted on some most interesting portions of Europe by the unequal scales of political partition.

Conduct of the East-India Company.

Amidst the universal turmoil in which Europe was involved, the East-India Company held on their

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their course; steering clear of party, they endeavoured to secure the advantages anticipated from the joint operation of their political and commercial character.

Charter of 1793, and agreement with the public.

The period had again arrived when a new agreement was to be entered into between them and the public. Various plans had been thought of, and a requisition had been made to parties abroad for opinions and suggestions. But each differed from the other: no two views were alike, and it was therefore deemed most prudent to rest upon the past, rather than launch into theoretical experiments for the future.

With regard to the *political* branch of the question. The Board of Commissioners was continued, but the appointment of its members, as hitherto, was not to be confined to privy councillors. The first named member was henceforth declared to be president. Three commissioners were to form a board; they were to appoint their own officers. Salaries were now, for the first time, granted to the commissioners, but the aggregate of their allowances was not to exceed £5,000 a year. Those to the officers of the Board were limited to £11,000, making in the whole a charge for the establishment of £16,000 per annum. No grant of salary by the Directors exceeding £200 a-year was valid in future, unless approved by the Board.

The first step was thus taken to effect, by more gradual and less extensive means, a portion of the scheme

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scheme which had occasioned such an outcry in 1783, so far as regarded patronage.

The Government of Bengal continued supreme, and certain appropriations were made of the territorial revenues.

Interests of India subservient to views at home.

It is only necessary to allude to so much of the commercial part of the question as was connected with the products and manufactures of India. The same opposition to the reception of those products and manufactures into this country was then urged as has since been frequently advanced. The objection rested on the ground that it would interfere either with the national or with particular interests that had peculiar claims to the protection of Parliament. The manufacturers of Manchester and Glasgow, engaged in the cotton trade, had made strong representations, in 1788, against the importation of piece goods from India. Those representations were again put forward in 1793. But it was shown that the distress then experienced by the manufacturers was not owing to vast importations by the Company, but to their own improvident speculations, or by their raising fictitious credits and circulations to an extent unprecedented. It was suggested to the Minister to prohibit, by a clause in the new Act, the export to or use of cotton machinery in India. The Minister justly declared that, in his opinion, both the Company and the manufacturers overrated the matter; the former in the value they attached to the exclusive trade

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trade with India; the latter, in the advantages they expected to be derived from a free participation in it. With regard to the China trade, he felt a totally different mode of reasoning was applicable. The matter terminated in the renewal of the charter for twenty years, and the reservation of three thousand tons in the Company's ships for the use of private merchants, with a provision for any further quantity that might be called for.

Objection taken to Mr. Shore's appointment.

The nomination of Mr. Shore as successor to Lord Cornwallis in the office of governor-general, has been noticed. Mr. Burke, then residing at Bath, addressed a letter to the Chairman and Deputy,* urging the propriety of postponing the appointment,—a communication, supposed to have been connected with the long pending impeachment of Mr. Hastings. The Chairs replied that Sir John Shore had been selected for his high honour and probity, and his peculiar fitness; the Court had appointed him, on these grounds, to the arduous and responsible office, and to that appointment they adhered.

Sir John Shore enters upon office of Governor-general.

Sir John Shore entered upon the duties of government on the 28th October 1793, on which day Major-general Sir Robert Abercrombie assumed the office of commander-in-chief, under the Court's appointment of September 1792.

Lord Hobart appointed Governor of Madras.

Lord Hobart, who had been brought to the Court's notice by Mr. Dundas, was appointed to the

* Sirs Francis Baring and J. S. Burgess, baronets.

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the government of Madras, on the 23d of October 1793, as successor to Sir Charles Oakley, who having been requested to remain by the Court, was to be at liberty to retain the office for one month after the arrival of Lord Hobart at Fort St. George. His lordship was also appointed to succeed as governor-general on the death, resignation, or coming away of Sir John Shore.

Pacific appearance of India.

Notwithstanding the disturbed state of affairs in Europe, there was every appearance of peace in India, where the sovereignty was exercised by the Mahrattas, Tippoo Sultaun, the Nizam, and the English.

The Mahratta powers comprehended the Peishwa, Scindiah, Holkar, and the Rajah of Berar. The latter chief had less interest and concern in their general politics; he carried on his administration independently, although he had received the confirmation of his succession, with the insignia of his investiture, from the Peishwa. But the Mahrattas, to whom a French force of two brigades, under General de Boigne, was attached, were deemed sufficiently formidable without the Rajah of Berar. The nature of the Mahratta government was avaricious, grasping, and ambitious, never neglecting any opportunity of extending its power or aggrandizing its wealth, indifferent as to the means by which it attained those objects.

It was justly felt with regard to all the powers in

in India, that our great security was in our strength.

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The Nizam (a weak unstable power,) and the Mahrattas, were attached to us by treaty. The leading principle of Tippoo was described to be ambition. He had no friendships, his abilities were well known; without any minister, he inspected and regulated all the details of his government, and maintained dignity without ostentation. His peasantry were protected, and their labours encouraged and rewarded. Since the termination of hostilities, he was said to have faithfully discharged all the obligations of the treaty of peace, and that his attention had been more immediately directed to the improvement of his finances by economy. He was supposed to entertain a particular resentment to the Nizam, but, whatever might be the result of events in India, little aid could be looked for from England.

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Insecurity of the country trade.

The country trade in India had suffered so severely from the French cruisers, that an armament was fitted out for its protection, until the arrival of his Majesty's ships, under Commodore Cornwallis, in the spring of 1794; at the commencement of which year the Supreme Government was engaged in carrying into effect the several provisions of the Act regarding the appointment of justices of the peace. Conferences were held with the judges of the Supreme Court, in conjunction with whom the necessary regulations were framed.

Justices of the peace, and improvements at Calcutta.

The

1794. The justices were empowered to take measures for improving the police of Calcutta, and its internal management, also for cleansing the streets, controlling the sale of spirituous liquors, and other matters, which contributed to the welfare of the community.

Restoration of Tippoo's sons.

A question of some delicacy arose, regarding the restoration of Tippoo's sons, who had been given as hostages, under the second article of the treaty of 1792. They were to be restored on certain conditions, and on the completion of the stipulated payments. The consent of the Nizam was necessary, between whom and Tippoo some points were in a state of litigation. His highness consented, upon condition that the British Government would ensure a speedy settlement of the difference relating to some claims made by Tippoo on the Rajah of Kernoul, who was the Nizam's dependant.

The princes were accordingly restored to Tippoo at Devanally, on the 28th of March. The Government, in announcing this event, expressed their belief that Tippoo would embrace the first opportunity to recover his dominions, and thereby retrieve his reputation in the eyes of the native states.

Death of Madajee Scindiah.

Madajee Scindiah, the celebrated Mahratta chieftain, died at Poonah in the early part of this year. He was succeeded by his adopted son and grand-nephew, Dowlut Rao Scindiah, then only fourteen years of age. About the same time the

bench

bench at Calcutta sustained an irreparable loss, in the death of that upright judge and most accomplished scholar, Sir William Jones.

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Probability of war between the Nizam and the Mahrattas.

The existence of an uneasy feeling had been apparent between the Court of Poonah and the Nizam. It was also surmised that Tippoo had been assembling a force for the purpose of joining the Mahrattas.

Conduct of British Government.

A question arose out of this state of things as to what course the British Government should pursue in the event of hostilities. The Governor-general recorded his views in a full and able minute in February 1795. Adverting to the triple alliance of 1790 between the Company, the Nizam, and the Mahrattas, he felt that if he agreed to support the Nizam against Tippoo, and thus became involved in a war with the Mahrattas, a state of affairs never contemplated by the treaty of 1790 would be produced. The stipulation of the alliance which bound the English Government not to aid the enemies of either state, seemed to impose a strict neutrality on the Company, in the event of these powers being at war with each other, as such war would in fact bring a temporary subversion of the principles of the alliance.

Sir John Shore therefore determined to remain neuter. The British minister with the Nizam was accordingly instructed to warn his highness of the probable effects of his involving himself with the Poonah durbar. This decision was declared to

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to have been adopted by the Governor-general on strong grounds of expediency; "when he contemplated the difficulties which presented themselves on a review of the Nizam's administration, the impossibility of directing his course of policy without usurping his government, the difficulty of making any impression on the Mahrattas, the comparative facility with which they could injure the British Government, the magnitude of the resources of the Mahrattas and Tippoo, the number of troops that would be necessary to oppose them, and the inevitable ruin of a long-protracted war, it was considered that the inducement to support the Nizam at the hazard of such impending consequences, ought to be much stronger than the future evils from the subversion of his power."*

Notwithstanding the caution on the part of the British resident at Hyderabad, no measures were taken by the Nizam to avert the hostilities that followed. They were not of long duration; Tippoo was too fully occupied in his own country to take part in the quarrel. Both the Mahrattas and the Nizam had the aid of French officers and troops. The force of the Peishwa was estimated at 73,000 cavalry, 38,000 infantry, and 192 guns. One of the brigades in Scindiah's service, under General de Boigne, joined the Peishwa, commanded by M. Perron. M. Raymond was with the Nizam.

Hostilities

* Minute of Governor-general, 20th July 1795.

1794. Hostilities between the Nizam and the Mahrattas

Hostilities took place on the 11th of March, near Beder. The Nizam expressed a wish that the battalions which he subsidised under the treaty with the Company, should join him: this call was evaded by Government, to avoid giving umbrage to the Mahrattas. The battalions were, however, employed in preserving peace in the Nizam's dominions during his engagement with his opponents. When his highness returned to Hyderabad, he intimated his desire to be relieved from the Company's troops. They were accordingly withdrawn. His disposition towards the French was naturally strengthened: they, in their turn, did not lose the opportunity of impressing upon his highness the value of their aid, by referring to the success which was represented to have attended their arms in Europe. The result of these measures, which terminated in the treaty of Kurdlah, gave an accession of wealth, territory, and reputation to the Mahrattas, with an influence and control over the Nizam, from which at that moment there was little prospect of his emancipation.

French troops under Nizam.

The Nizam had been led to station towards Kurpah, situated on the Company's frontiers, the French corps under M. Raymond. The Governor-general contemplated this measure with serious apprehension, as it appeared by a communication from Lord Hobart, at Madras, that M. Raymond had opened a correspondence with several French officers,

1794. officers, then prisoners of war, at Pondicherry. Owing to the vigilance of Lord Hobart, a junction was prevented between a party of those officers and the detachment of M. Raymond. At the moment when the British influence seemed to be banished from the councils of Hyderabad, the rebellion of the Nizam's eldest son, Ali Jah, encouraged a hope of its revival. The revolt was suppressed by aid of the French force, and the death of Ali Jah. These occurrences induced the Nizam to recall the Company's battalions that had been withdrawn, but which under treaty they were bound on his requisition to supply. This proceeding in some measure restored confidence towards the British Government, although the French interest continued to preponderate over every other at Hyderabad. Their force was enlarged, and its efficiency improved by a strong park of artillery, well found and disciplined.

Rohilla chief

In 1794 Fizula Cawn, the Rohilla chief, with whom a treaty was made by the Vizier of Oude in 1774, under which the country of Rampore and other districts dependant thereon, valued altogether at Rs. 14,75,000, were granted to him as a military tenure, died. Mahomed Ali succeeded, but a younger brother, Gholaum Mahomed Khan, usurped the government, and murdered Mahomed Ali. This event led to the Rohilla war, in support of the Vizier's rights and authority. Gholaum Mahomed's forces were totally defeated, but he himself

himself was subsequently allowed to visit the British camp, under a promise from General Sir Robert Abercrombie that he would endeavour to procure a provision for him and his followers. An agreement was also entered into with the Rohillas under the Company's guarantee, by which the Vizier granted to the Nabob Ahmed Ali Khan, the son of the before-named Mahomed Ali, a jaghire in Rampoor of ten lacs of rupees per annum,* and the Nabob agreed to pay to the Company, for the support of Gholaum Mahomed, 1,500 rupees per month out of the produce of the jaghire. Gholaum Mahomed was allowed to retain his private property, and to reside at Benares.

1795.

Death of the Nabob of Bengal.

The Nabob Mobarec-ul-Dowlah died at the early part of the year 1795, and was succeeded by his son Nasir-ul-Moolk. The same allowances were continued to him as his father had enjoyed, with which it appeared the family were fully satisfied.

Peishwa dies.

Madhoo Rao, the young Peishwa, died in the autumn of 1795, an event that caused considerable differences among the Mahratta chiefs. Bajee Rao, a son of Ragobah, was the rightful heir: but Nana Furnavese, who had so long directed the affairs at Poonah, desirous of retaining his power, attempted to place an infant upon the musnud over whom he could exercise entire influence. He likewise sought to

* Political Consultations from Bengal, 1790-95.

1795.

to strengthen himself with the Nizam, for which purpose he liberated his uncle Azeem-ul-omrah, who had been confined since the former differences, and negotiated with him for the surrender of the cessions made at the termination of the previous hostilities. The arrival of Scindiah defeated those intentions. A new treaty was entered into with the Nizam, Bajee Rao being placed on the Mahratta throne.

Capt. Symes returns from Nepaul.

Capt. Symes returned at this time from Ummerapoora, having effected the object for which he was deputed to the King of Ava, and established a treaty by which it was anticipated that much advantage would be derived in our commercial intercourse with the Burmese empire. We were to have free access, and the privilege of a Resident at Rangoon, for the purpose of superintending the commerce, and securing communications with the capital.

Mr. Duncan Governor of Bombay.

Mr. Duncan, under an appointment by the Court, assumed the government of Bombay in 1795.

Nepaul subject to China.

A document was received from the Governor-general's agent at Benares, from which it appeared that the empire of China exercised a decided authority over the Rajah of Nepaul, who was required by the court of Pekin to re-establish his uncle, Behauder Shah, in the management of the affairs of the country, and to restore the dispossessed Raja of Jumlah, threatening at the same time to march an army of 80,000 men into Nepaul, should the

the Rajah hesitate to comply with such injunctions.

1796.

In February 1796, the settlement at the Andamans formed in 1793 was withdrawn, in consequence of the extreme unhealthiness of the station.

Andamans Islands.

The Court of Directors communicated their views on the military arrangements for India, which were wholly revised. At this period the furlough regulations were introduced, as well as those for the retirement of officers after a given period of service. Batta and other extra allowances were fixed. A recruiting system was laid down, and a depôt established for recruits in England. The total increase was a charge of £308,000 per annum.

Revision of the military.

The political relations of the Company with the Mahrattas and the Nizam, led the Supreme Government to remark, "that in reasoning upon political events in India, all conclusions, from obvious causes, must be liable to great uncertainty."

Tippoo's conduct kept alive the suspicions of Government. Whatever were his real views, or whatever might arise to promote or discourage the execution of them, various circumstances had occurred since the date of the last advices from India, to suggest a belief that the Sultan was inimical to the Company. This impression, added to the appearance of the French squadron in India, and the probability of the arrival of the Dutch fleet which was last seen at St. Jago, led the Government to adopt precautionary measures for offensive or defensive

Tippoo.

1796 sive operations; as they felt that nothing would more conduce to the maintenance of tranquillity than a perseverance in measures of reasonable precaution. Such were the sentiments of the Supreme Government in the month of October 1796.

The surrender of the Dutch fleet at the Cape of Good Hope to Sir George Keith Elphinstone,* dissipated the fear that aid would be derived by our enemies from that quarter: but the apprehensions regarding Tippoo were so much increased, that the Government suggested to their allies the policy of uniting in a representation to that chief regarding his military preparations. A letter was accordingly written by the Governor-general in the name of the allied powers, requesting some explanation of the Sultan's views and intentions.

The Madras Government were instructed to have their army ready to take the field at the shortest notice. It was also determined that a considerable body of troops should be stationed on the western frontier, in sufficient preparation to commence their march from Midnapore to the Carnatic, if required, by the end of November. The Government of Bombay were likewise to adopt all practicable measures of defence on the Malabar coast, and not to

* Lieut.-general Sir Alured Clarke, who had been appointed second in council and commander-in-chief at Madras, proceeded in command of the troops. Lieutenant Malcolm, then in Europe on account of his health, returned to India with Sir Alured, and was appointed his aide-de-camp.

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to consider the territories of Tippoo as any protection to the enemy if he should land, but to attack him without hesitation, if their force were adequate to the attempt. To provide for the extraordinary expenses occasioned by these preparations, and to supply the requisite demands of the presidencies of Madras and Bombay, the Supreme Government opened the treasury for a loan at twelve per cent.

Tippoo having replied to the letter from the Governor-general, the Supreme Government remarked, " if we had expected an elucidation from Tippoo on the subject of his military preparations, we should have reason to acknowledge our disappointment, as the terms of his letter, however friendly, are rather evasive than explanatory."

After some further observations on the principles which had dictated their course of policy, they added, " the conduct of this Government throughout these transactions has been uniformly guided by a principle of neutrality with respect to the contending parties, and we have every reason to congratulate ourselves upon our steady adherence to a principle, no less virtually inculcated by the prescriptions of the Legislature, than most conformable to sound policy."* Tippoo persevered in his determination to enforce his demands on Kurnoul for arrears of tribute due from that district, and manifested a disposition to take possession of it

* Political Letter from Bengal, 31st December 1796.

1796. it if they were not discharged. The Supreme Government stated that it had long been decided the Company were not bound to defend the Nizam's claim to Kurnoul.

At the close of this year Zemaun Shah, unexpectedly crossed the Attock, and advancing by rapid marches, took possession of Lahore, without any opposition from the Seiks.

1797. The affairs of Oude had engaged much of Lord Cornwallis's attention, but the death of Hyder Beg, the minister, put a stop to carrying forward the measures of reform contemplated by his lordship.

In the early part of 1797, Sir John Shore left Calcutta for the Upper Provinces, to communicate with the Vizier Azoff-ul-Dowlah on the state of his kingdom, and to urge his excellency to introduce a thorough reform in his government, and to ensure the application of his resources for the mutual defence of his own and the Company's territories in the event of Zemaun Shah advancing into Hindostan. His excellency, "fully relying on the readiness of the Company at all times to defend his dominions from the attacks of his enemies," agreed to defray the *bonâ fide* expenses of a regiment of European and one of native cavalry, the charge not to exceed five lacs and a-half of rupees per annum.

Zemaun Shah, after committing great excesses in Lahore, retreated towards Caubul, in consequence

quence of the reported revolt of his brother the viceroy of Herat. 1796.

Asoff-ul-Dowlah, the Vizier, having died suddenly, Vizier Ally succeeded to the musnud. Appeals against the succession, on the ground of illegitimacy, were pressed on the attention of the Supreme Government: but they were rejected by the Governor-general, in the full persuasion that Vizier Ally was the rightful heir. Affairs of Oude.

The pecuniary pressure upon the finances of the Government was now so severe, that a reduction in the investments became indispensable, both from Bengal and Madras.

In the autumn of 1797 Sir John Shore advised the Court of his intention to relinquish the government, and to embark for England in the ships of the approaching season,* and in a subsequent despatch the *Britannia* was named as the vessel on which he should proceed; but at this juncture the affairs of Oude again rendered it necessary that he should repair to Lucknow. The principal point arose out of circumstances resulting from the succession of Vizier Ally, through the support of the Company. When Sir John Shore quitted Calcutta for the Upper Provinces, he did not at all contemplate any alteration in the succession; he conceived it possible that the repugnance 1797.

* Letter from Sir John Shore, 15th September 1797.

1797. nance of the inhabitants of Oude to the title of Vizier Ali might be such as to force upon him the further recognition of the subject. "By an extraordinary concurrence of circumstances, the Company were compelled to become the arbiters of the disposal of a kingdom." *

It appeared from incontestable evidence that his mother was the wife of a Fraush, then living, the lowest occupation of a menial servant; that his early determination, after succeeding to the vizierat, was to establish his own power and subvert that of the Company in the province of Oude; that his conduct from his accession had exhibited "scenes of action mean, profligate, and vicious;" and that he desired to degrade the minister who was considered as the representative of the English influence under the resident. Sir John Shore, a few days after reaching Lucknow, received repeated cautions through various channels, not to place himself in the power of the Nabob, in the prevailing idea that assassination was intended. Troops were secretly admitted into the town in large numbers, and orders had been issued for several battalions to advance to the city. These circumstances led the Governor-general to quit his residence in Lucknow, and to proceed to a garden-house of the Nabob at the distance of about five miles. The age of Vizier Ali was only seventeen, but

* Governor-general's Minutes. Bengal Secret Consultations, January 1798.

but he was fearless, debauched, of a sanguinary disposition, and uncontrollable except by the impression of political fear. The Governor-general, after enumerating the various circumstances which he proposed to investigate in order to arrive at the true state of affairs, confessed, without reserve, that he had never been involved in a scene of more perplexity and profligacy; but his determination was taken to remove Vizier Ali, and to place Saadat Ali, a descendant of Sujah Dowlah, on the musnud. The government of Oude was considered, in the opinion of the natives, a dependency on the English, whatever its relation under treaties might be. Scindiah was said to refer the investiture of Vizier Ali by the Mogul to the Governor-general, and many respectable families resided at Lucknow under British influence.

1797.

The resolution of the Governor-general to depose Vizier Ali, and to place Saadat Ali on the musnud, was not adopted without great hesitation and deliberation. Of its justice Sir John Shore entertained no doubt, or that it would be ever impeached by any native of India: and if the justice of it were dubious, as the public voice denied all right in Vizier Ali, a decision in conformity with it carries its own evidence. "If," observed Sir John Shore, "I had consulted only my own personal ease or personal responsibility, I should have adopted a different decision, and upon that principle an arrangement might have been

1797. been made, which would have enabled me by this time to prosecute the intentions with which I left Calcutta, of returning to Europe; but the line I have taken, although that of hazard and difficulty, is, in my conscientious opinion, that of honour and justice, combining political responsibility and political security."

A treaty was concluded with Saadat Ali on the the 21st February 1798, by which the subsidy paid by Asoph-ul-Dowlah of 56 lacs 70,000 rupees was increased to 76 lacs, to commence from January 1798. The arrears of former subsidies were to be immediately discharged. The English forces to be maintained for the defence of Oude were never to be less than 10,000 men; if above 13,000 or below 8,000, an increase or reduction to be made in the payment. The fortress of Allahabad was made over to the Company, and the Ghauts immediately dependant on the fort, the revenue thereof to be accounted for to the Nabob. Eight lacs were to be advanced for the repairs of the fort by the Nabob, and three lacs for the repair of Futtyghur. The Company were to be paid twelve lacs for the expenses incurred on seating Saadat Ali on the musnud; and a revision of the Nabob's establishments in communication with the Company's government was to be effected; and, without the sanction of the latter, no Europeans were to settle in Oude. Vizier Ali was removed to Benares, where he was in future to reside. The Directors com-

1798.

commended the vigilance which induced Sir John Shore, in his zeal for the Company's interests, to proceed a second time to Lucknow, though on the eve of departure for Europe. After attentively perusing the whole of the voluminous documents, together with the able and elaborate detail of the Governor-general, the Court declared that they had not the least hesitation in pronouncing that his decision supported the just right of inheritance, and that the honour, reputation, and justice of the Company had been fully maintained. They also expressed their decided opinion that Lord Teignmouth,* in a most arduous situation, and under circumstances of much delicacy and embarrassment, conducted himself with great temper, impartiality, ability, and firmness; and that he finished a long course of faithful services by planning and carrying into execution an arrangement which not only redounded highly to his honour, but which would also operate to the reciprocal advantage of the Company, the Nabob, and the Vizier.

Lord Teignmouth quitted the government in March 1798.

* Sir John Shore had been raised to the Irish peerage by the title of Baron Teignmouth, 24th October 1797.

CHAPTER V.

1797.
BENGAL.
Reasons for the re-appointment of Marquis Cornwallis as Governor-general.

THE Court of Directors had been apprized, in the month of March, that the precarious state of Sir John Shore's health would, in all probability, lead him to quit India. Circumstances had also occurred tending to create an uncertainty whether Lord Hobart might not be on his way home. The Court felt that these events were likely to arise at a time when arrangements of the first consequence to the public interests required to be carried into effect. Amongst them was the introduction of courts of adawlut on the coasts of Coromandel and Malabar, on principles similar to those which had produced such beneficial effects in Bengal; also the change in the general commerce of India, by the capture of the Dutch settlements in the Eastern seas; and the differences that had arisen between the Supreme Government and the presidency of Madras, on the questions of Arcot and Tanjore; but most especially the mortification experienced by the Court of Directors, in learning that the army arrangements, which had been adopted after much deliberation, and at the sacrifice of a most enormous expense, had not been received in Bengal with that unreserved satisfaction

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satisfaction which had been anticipated. However vexatious the reflection, and well-grounded the dissatisfaction, which was created in the minds of the Home authorities by the conduct of the leading instruments, in propagating what was termed "an unwarrantable spirit," the Court declared it should not discourage them from continuing to consult and promote the real interests of a body of men whose meritorious services they could never forget, and to whose substantial comforts they should never cease to attend. They then adverted to the affairs of Oude. The interests of the Vizier were felt to be so inseparably connected with those of the Company, that it was impossible to be indifferent to what passed within his territory. The Court were fully alive to the delicacy and difficulty which attended the subject, but indulged a hope that some such melioration might take place in the interior government of the Vizier's country, as would ensure that prosperity to his provinces, and security to his subjects, without which there could be no rational prospect of permanent advantage. In order to effect these various measures, the Court directed their views to the Marquis Cornwallis, who had already rendered such valuable and brilliant services to his country and to the Company, both in a civil and military capacity. At the request of the Court, his lordship consented to undertake another voyage to India, for the purpose of arranging

1797.

Lord Hobart to resume Government of Madras.

ranging these weighty matters. Lord Hobart, who had been appointed to succeed Sir John Shore as governor-general, was therefore directed, in the event of his having assumed that office, to resume the government of Fort St. George until the departure of Lord Cornwallis for Europe. This notification was accompanied by an assurance that the Court highly estimated the ability, zeal, and promptitude that had distinguished his lordship's conduct in the expeditions from Madras, and to which they ascribed, in a great degree, the very advantageous situation in which the Company's affairs were placed by the recent conquests in that part of the world.*

Lord Cornwallis proceeds as viceroy to Ireland.

The public interests led to a change in the destination of Marquis Cornwallis: his lordship proceeding, in the month of June, as viceroy to Ireland. The Directors, in notifying this change to India, reiterated the sense which they entertained of the merits and services of Lord Hobart. General Sir Alured Clarke, who had proceeded from Madras to assume the office of commander-in-chief, under the Court's appointment of April 1796, was nominated provisional governor-general, in the event of a successor not arriving in Bengal before Sir John Shore should have embarked for Europe.

Earl of Mornington appointed Governor-general.

The nobleman ultimately fixed upon to fill the high and arduous post, thus vacated, was the Marquis Wellesley, then Earl of Mornington. His

* Letter to Madras, 22d March 1797.

1797.

His lordship's education, and services in England.

His lordship's education at Eton was superintended by Archbishop Cornwallis, with whom he constantly passed the holidays at Lambeth Palace, from 1771 to 1779, and there he became intimately acquainted with Earl Cornwallis, and the several members of his lordship's family.

When Lord Cornwallis proceeded to India as Governor-general, in 1786, Lord Wellesley evinced a decided taste for the study of Indian history, and zealously applied himself to the acquisition of an intimate knowledge of its early government, and of the various matters that had of late occupied so much of the attention of Parliament and of the country. It was a subject in which his lordship took great delight, although he could then have little contemplated that he was destined, at a future period, to follow his illustrious friend in the same field of foreign rule, and to be the instrument of extending, by the wisdom of his councils, that empire, in the government of which so high an impression had been created in the minds of the natives by the benign and honourable administration of Lord Cornwallis. Lord Wellesley was appointed a lord of the treasury in 1786, and a commissioner for the affairs of India, without salary, in 1795; and held these offices, together with a seat in the Privy Council, until the month of October 1797, when he was nominated, by the Court of Directors, governor-general of India. These facts repudiate the idea that his lordship had

Lord of the Treasury and India Commissioner.

1797.

had possessed but little time for acquainting himself with the complicated affairs of India, before his arrival in that country.

Lord Wellesley had been requested to make a short stay in Madras, for the purpose of effecting a modification of the treaty with his highness the Nabob of Arcot, in 1792. But as great importance was attached to an exact observance of treaties with the native powers, a principle so honourably established under the administration of Lord Cornwallis, no exertion of any other power than that of persuasion was to be used for the purpose of inducing the Nabob to adopt any alteration of the treaty. Lord Wellesley embarked at Portsmouth on *La Virginie* frigate, the 9th November, and on the 29th arrived at Madeira, where he was received with every mark of attention by the Portuguese authorities. On the following day the *Niger* frigate, with the *Surat Castle*, having on board Sir John Anstruther, who was proceeding to Bengal as chief justice, accompanied by the whole of the convoy, arrived off the island. In the night the ships of the fleet were obliged to slip their cables and put to sea, to avoid the effects of a sudden and tremendous storm. Lord Wellesley arrived at the Cape of Good Hope in February 1798, where he met with Major Kirkpatrick, the late resident at the court of Hyderabad, which post that officer had been constrained to quit, and to repair to the Cape for the benefit of his health.

Embarks for India.

Interview with Major Kirkpatrick at the Cape.

Lord

1797.

Lord Wellesley was in some measure aware that the increase of the French influence had occasioned considerable apprehension in the mind of Lord Teignmouth before he left India. His lordship, therefore, embraced the opportunity which the meeting with Major Kirkpatrick presented, to frame and submit a series of questions to that officer, whose replies enabled his lordship to form a more correct estimate of the importance to be attached to the subject. The result of his deliberations was communicated in a letter to Mr. Dundas, accompanied by his lordship's opinion on the value of the Cape, and more especially that of the island of Ceylon, to the interests of Great Britain.

1798.

Ceylon had been placed under the Madras government since its capture in 1796. Accounts having reached Fort George in January 1798, that the chief of the insurgents was in communication with the court at Kandy, and that apprehensions were entertained that the rebellious chiefs and the king might unite with the French and Dutch against the British interests, Lord Hobart proceeded to Columbo, in company with Admiral Rainier, on the 7th of July, for the purpose of securing those interests. Having effected the objects of his visit he returned to Madras, and on the 18th announced his intention to relinquish the government, and to proceed to Europe.

Lord Hobart proceeds to Ceylon, and then returns to Europe.

General Harris, the commander-in-chief at Fort St.

1798.

St. George, succeeded provisionally to the government. In reparation for the disappointment and loss occasioned to Lord Hobart, who it could not be supposed would remain after two successors had been nominated to the office of Governor-general since his lordship's appointment as successor to Sir John Shore in 1793, an unanimous resolution was passed by the Directors on the 8th August granting him a pension of £1,500 per annum, to commence from the time of his quitting Madras: which resolution was confirmed by the General Court on the 6th December, when the thanks of the Company were also unanimously voted to his lordship for his able and meritorious conduct in the government of Fort St. George.

Granted an annuity of £1,500.

In the same month the Court of Directors appointed Lord Clive, (now Earl Powis,) his successor.

Lord Clive appointed Governor of Madras.

The question regarding the government of Ceylon was yet undecided ; but there were reasons to believe that it would be assumed by the Crown. The Hon. Frederick North, in anticipation of this decision, having arrived at Bombay, addressed a private letter to Lord Wellesley, as he considered his lordship might be called to account "for the arrival in India of a person unhoused, unappointed, unannealed," who, with seven or eight more of his Majesty's servants, in embryo, like himself, had no security for their employment but the word of Ministers :—

Mr. North, Governor of Ceylon.

My

1798.

My appointment is to be £10,000 a-year. Lord Clive was expected to leave England in March or April; I am glad to find that India has so many charms besides the *beaux yeux de la Cassetta*; that men with £16,000 a-year in possession, and two-and-twenty thousand in expectation, are enamoured of her, and I am very glad that these charms were not discovered sooner, lest my poor little island of cinnamon should have been carried off by some more powerful suitor than an indigent younger brother. But what really gives me great pleasure is, that Lord Clive is a very good-natured, right-headed, sensible man, and exactly the person we could wish for—you as a *tributary prince*, I as a *neighbouring potentate.*

The island being declared a King's possession, Mr. North was confirmed in the government of it.

Lord Wellesley reaches Madras.

Lord Wellesley landed at Madras in April 1798. Having presented letters to the Nabob from the King and their Royal Highnesses the Prince of Wales and Duke of York, his lordship entered upon the question of a successor to the musnud at Tanjore, and ultimately determined in favour of Serfogee, but postponed the final instructions for that purpose until arriving in Bengal. On the 18th May, Lord Wellesley reached Calcutta, and assumed charge of the government-general.

Despatches of Marquis Wellesley.

Considerable light has been thrown upon various points connected with the period of Indian history now under review, by the publication of the despatches of the Marquis Wellesley, and those of his Grace the Duke of Wellington.

A great portion of the Marquis Wellesley's despatches

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1798.

patches have been already laid before Parliament and the public; but the present work is valuable, not only as presenting the whole in a chronological and connected form, but because it is also interspersed with some confidential and private letters from the Minister of the Crown and the President of the Board of Control, which supply the exact description of information required to elucidate points that would otherwise have remained obscure or unexplained. Those despatches exhibit the mind of an accomplished statesman, whose views were not to be defeated by infirmity of purpose nor thwarted by the opposing councils of subordinate functionaries—a mind which evinced its capacity for rule in the selection of instruments well fitted to give effect to the wisdom of its measures.

Despatches of the Duke of Wellington.

The despatches of the Duke of Wellington, as Colonel Gurwood happily observes, "make his Grace his own historian." The events which connect the early services of the Duke with India, exhibit the dawn of his Grace's unrivalled career. They pourtray that buoyancy of spirit and unconquerable energy which surmounted difficulties that would have baffled and subdued minds of an inferior caste. A marked characteristic was the facility with which General Wellesley acquired information, on all points connected with the duties of the prominent position he so long and so ably filled in Mysore. Whether relating to the strength, condition, and character of the army—the mode and

1798.

and means of its supply—the face and bearing of the country in which he more immediately acted, or of that attached to his extensive control—the plans of operation best calculated to defend those countries, or to check and defeat the enemy—the regulation of his commissariat—the knowledge he obtained of the character of the several native chiefs—the important correspondence which he maintained with their respective courts and durbars, and the confidence with which his own character and conduct inspired both those chiefs and their subjects, throughout his whole course of service—exhibited that rare combination of talent and qualifications which were destined to be again called forth with such unrivalled effect, not only for the benefit of his own country but of Europe at large.

General Wellesley appears to have been exempt from many of the petty infirmities which assail our common nature : not that he was insensible to the effects of disappointed emulation, but even this called forth the display of qualities which tended to raise his Grace to his present eminence. It may truly be said, that not only is the Duke of Wellington his own historian, but, under a protecting Providence, he was the founder of his own fame and fortune.

State of India on Marquis Wellesley's arrival.

The position in which the Marquis Wellesley found himself placed, on entering upon the office of Governor-general, will be best understood by a reference

1798.

reference to the general state of affairs in India, and to those points which demanded his lordship's immediate attention. The Governor-general's first act was to record a minute on the result of his investigation into the claims of Serfogee, which claims his lordship considered to be well founded, but he at the same time felt it right to accompany the deposition of Ameer Sing with the grounds upon which so important a measure was adopted. His person was to be protected, his private property to be respected, and a suitable provision made for him, so long as he should conduct himself with propriety.

Financial difficulties.

With a view to relieve the state of the finances by a reduction of the expenses of the Government, his lordship proposed a general revision of the public establishments of the three presidencies,

Revision of establishments.

"as it was impossible to believe, that establishments of such magnitude and intricacy as those of India, should not in the course of time require frequent revision." A committee for the purpose was accordingly formed at Calcutta, upon the principle prescribed by Lord Cornwallis in 1788.

Money market.

When hostilities commenced against Tippoo in 1792, the rate of interest was low; large subscriptions were then made to a twelve per cent. loan, and large supplies of dollars were detained at Madras for the public service when intended for China.

In 1798, the period in question, the funded debt was fifty-one lacs, the Court's credit so low that the eight per cent. paper was at eighteen and twenty per

per cent. discount, and the scarcity of money so great, that their twelve per cent. bonds were down at four discount: a strong proof of a want of confidence in the state of public affairs.

1798.

Power of the French.

The French interests had been greatly extended in India. The Secret Committee, in writing to the Governor-general for his warning and guidance in June 1798, stated:—

Our empire in the East has ever been an object of jealousy to the French; we have no doubt that the present government of France would even adopt measures of a most enterprising and uncommon nature for the chance of reducing the British power and consequence in India. We recommend energy, promptness, and decision. Do not wait for actual hostilities on the part of Tippoo, should he have entered into a league with the French.

The authenticity of the proclamation by M. Malartic at the Isle of France in January 1798, declaratory of Tippoo's desire to form an offensive and defensive alliance with France, was clearly established—its genuine character was not doubted—the events subsequent to the fall of Tippoo corroborated the fact, and proved the foresight and judgment evinced by the Governor-general, who had by no means attached undue importance to the means exerted by the French to advance their influence, and to crush the power of the English. It had been alleged that the Governor-general formed both a hasty and an erroneous estimate of the French influence and of Tippoo's power, as well as that of the

1798. the native chiefs. It has been contended that the British power had increased in a greater ratio, and that the determination to engage in hostilities for expelling the French and humbling Tippoo was consequently impolitic, if not unjust.

But Lord Teignmouth did not think lightly either of the French influence, or of Tippoo's power and intentions. In a letter written on the eve of his departure from Calcutta, in the month of March 1798, alluding to Tippoo, his lordship remarked, "he will certainly avail himself of any fair opportunity to re-establish the power and reputation which he lost in his former contest with us." Major Kirkpatrick, who had been at Hyderabad, had formed no mean estimate of the French force and influence at the court of the Nizam. The Governor-general found that there were fourteen thousand French troops in the pay of the Nizam, as well as some with Scindiah, whose ambition Lord Teignmouth also declared to be unbounded. The French corps in the service of Scindiah had been the principal instrument in the establishment of his power at Poonah; commanded and officered as it was by Frenchmen, it proved the cause of the enormous power which was established by the Mahratta on the western side of India. It was also clearly shown that at the moment Tippoo was addressing an apparently friendly communication to the Governor-general on the 7th February 1799, he was sending off M. Dubac from Tranquebar on an embassy to France!

France! The enmity of Tippoo was not unnatural, and it was too well established to admit of its being doubted. His reception of a French detachment at Mangalore for service at Seringapatam, his declared design to expel the British power from India, the report of Capt. Malcolm, describing the extent, efficiency, and discipline of Tippoo's army in July 1798, his recent negotiations with Zemaun Shah, (corroborated by documents from amongst his papers at Seringapatam after his death,) placed the matter at this time beyond all question.

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State of the army.

The state of the Company's forces proved inadequate to meet the pressing exigency of affairs. Lieutenant-colonel Close, the adjutant-general, declared that the forces of Madras were not capable of defending the Company's territories, much less of carrying on offensive operations, particularly in a country like Mysore: and that even for the purpose of defence it could not move before the spring of 1799. This opinion of inadequacy of the army, even for defence, was fully corroborated by the opinion of General Harris, the commander-in-chief. Such was the state of the Company's military resources more immediately contiguous to the kingdom of Mysore, and to oppose the power of Tippoo. On turning to Bengal, it appeared that the upper and western provinces were threatened with invasion by Zemaun Shah, regarding whom Mr. Dundas, then president of the Board of Control, wrote to the Governor-

1798. Governor-general: "It was some time ago the fashion, in my opinion too much, to undervalue the menaces of Zemaun Shah respecting India, but I think that opinion is wearing away." General Sir James Craig, of the King's service, "trembled to think of what might be the effect of an attempt on the part of the Shah against Delhi." Adverting to the means which he possessed of presenting any thing of a check, and of securing the Vizier's country:

As to the Nabob's troops, I would be content that they should be useless, but I dread their being dangerous. I would be almost as unwilling to leave them behind me as I should to leave a fortress of the enemy. The Nabob is highly unpopular, and, of all his subjects, I believe he would least expect attachment from his army; we ourselves have too many recruits, indeed a number that will very much weaken the dependance to be placed in our battalions. On this subject I feel that I touch upon tender ground, but I write to your lordship in the confidence of a private communication. Neither the discipline of the army, or the knowledge of the officers, are such as to admit of our being insensible to other disadvantages. My view is, that your lordship may be aware of the state of the army, which it is at least possible you may not be through any other channel. Three-fourths with whom your lordship may converse do not themselves know it, and the other fourth will not confess it. It is a fact, however, past controversy, that within these four years, and owing to these very circumstances, of want of discipline and knowledge, the fate of our empire in India probably hung by a thread of the slightest texture.

Such was the testimony of the commanding officer,

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Army incapable of offensive operations.

officer, who declared, "that a *defensive* war must ever be ruinous to us in India," but there were no means for conducting an *offensive* one. The Governor-general accordingly intimated to Sir James Craig, that the "progress of the French arms in Egypt, our actual situation with Tippoo, and the doubtful posture of affairs at Poonah, must contract our means of reinforcing the army under your command. We must therefore be satisfied, in the event of Zemaun Shah's approach, with a system *strictly defensive*." We have thus briefly placed before us the crippled condition of the finances—the inefficient state of the army—the influence and intrigues of the French—the enmity of Tippoo,—and the threatenings of an enemy on the most vulnerable point of the Company's frontiers. In addition to these facts, Gholam Mahomed, the Rohilla chief, and leader of the rebellion in 1794, had returned into Rohilcund, with a mission from Ahmed Shah. A constant intercourse was held between the chief of the Seik nation and the Mahrattas.

The affairs of Poonah, and the expediency of modifying the triple alliance of 1792, including the Nizam and the Mahratta feudatories, Scindiah and Holkar, also engaged the attention of the Governor-general.

Spirit of opposition at Madras.

In the midst of these varied and complicated matters, all demanding immediate attention, Lord Wellesley had to contend with a spirit that manifested

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fested itself on the part of some of the functionaries at Madras, to counteract or thwart the views of his lordship. Having resolved to postpone active operations against Mysore until the following season, the Governor-general determined upon the immediate reduction of the French force at Hyderabad. Instructions were accordingly sent down in July 1798 to the Government of Madras, of so confidential a nature that for a time they were not entered even upon the secret records of the Government. A force of four thousand men was ordered to be provided for service with the Nizam. A spirit of opposition was manifested to this measure, which called forth the severe reprobation of the Governor-general. His lordship felt that immense responsibility devolved upon him, and justly considered every support was essential to advance the public interests. He at once resolved to assert and to exercise the high power and authority with which he was invested, and thereby to set at rest all future attempts to baffle or cramp those measures and exertions which might be subsequently determined upon. Writing to General Harris, his lordship observed, "My letter will have informed you how essential a plan to the very existence of the British empire in India would have been defeated, if your honourable firmness had not overcome the suggestions of an opposition which would have persuaded you to violate the law, under the specious pretext of executing the spirit by

Marquis Wellesley determined to assert his powers.

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by disobeying the letter of the orders of the Governor-general in Council. This opposition I am resolved to crush; I have sufficient powers to do so, and I will exert those powers to the extreme point of their extent, rather than suffer the smallest particle of my plans for the public service to be frustrated by such unworthy means."*

Animadverts on conduct o Madras Government.

In a public letter to the Government of Madras, the Supreme Council wrote: "If we thought proper to enter with you into any discussion of the policies of our late orders (for the purpose of meeting Tippoo Sultaun) we might refer you to the records of your own Government, which furnish more than one example of the fatal consequences of neglecting to keep pace with the forwardness of the enemy's equipments, and of resting the defence of the Carnatic, in such a crisis as the present, upon any other security than a state of early and active preparation for war."†

Hon. Colonel Wellesley proceeds to Madras.

La Virginie, frigate, was sent down to Madras, with treasure, amounting to between ten and fifteen lacs; the Government were, at the same time, advised that a part of his Majesty's 33d Regiment, with the Hon. Colonel Wellesley, had embarked for Fort St. George on the 15th of August, and that the remainder would follow on the 17th. Adverting to the effect which some persons imagined the preparations of the Government might have

* Private letter to Gen. Harris, 19th August 1798.

† *Vide* page 107–110.

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have on the mind of Tippoo, the Governor-general remarked: "I should be ashamed to hold for one hour the post which I now fill, if I had been so weak as to suffer any vague apprehensions of the possible effect of our preparations on the capricious mind of the Sultaun."

Marquis Wellesley's nomination advantageous for India.

In looking back on the state of India at the period of Lord Wellesley's arrival, it scarcely seems possible that a happier selection, or one so admirably fitted to meet the exigencies of the times could have been made of a nobleman to fill the office of governor-general. His lordship possessed a self-confidence, not the result of an overweening presumption, but arising from the exercise of a mind gifted with peculiar foresight, power, and precaution, and possessing, at the same time, a degree of moral courage which nothing could overcome.

Men read books, and because they find all warlike nations have had their downfall, they declaim against conquest as not only dangerous but unprofitable; but there are times and situations where conquest not only brings a revenue greatly beyond its expenses, but brings also additional security. Let us advance to the Kistna, we shall triple our revenue, our barrier will then be both stronger and shorter. The dissensions and revolutions of the native governments will point out the time when it is proper for us to become actors. While Tippoo's power exists we shall be perpetually in danger of losing what we have. Nothing can be more absurd than our regarding any of the native governments as powers which are to last for ages. It would not be surprising

prising if all of them were to cease to exist in the course of thirty years.

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In addition to these just remarks by the late Sir Thomas, then Colonel Munro, may be added a private letter, written to Marquis Wellesley by the Chairman of the Court of Directors, at the period when his lordship's mind had been made up on the very point to which so much importance was justly attached by the Chairman, but which was properly left open to his lordship's judgment:

East-India House, 22*d June* 1798.

Letter from Jacob Bosanquet, Esq. to Marquis Wellesley.

I am able only to add a few words to the present despatch, but they relate to a point of considerable delicacy and importance. If the object of the French expedition be not timely defeated, but it should only succeed in such a degree as to encourage the hopes of our enemies in India, and, at the same time, its success not be considerable enough to hold out the prospect of an efficacious co-operation with them; the most delicate and difficult of all questions will occur. Ought we, in such an event, to push Tippoo to a premature declaration of his intentions, and precipitate him into a war with us?—or would it be more prudent to temporise, for the chance of avoiding hostilities altogether? The greatest difficulty in this business is, justly to appreciate the chances of real efficacious French assistance.

The Governor-general had formed a correct estimate of the enemies he had to contend with, and determined his measures accordingly.

Lord Clive arrives at Madras.

Lord Clive reached Madras on the 21st of August. It must have been with no common feelings that his lordship landed on the shores of the settlement, and assumed charge of a government under

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under which his noble father first displayed those qualities and talents that have given his name so proud a place in the history of British India.

Letter to his lordship from the Governor-general.

The Governor-general, in the expectation of Lord Clive's daily arrival, had addressed to his lordship a most private and confidential letter, on the terms of an intimate friend (although he had not, as he observed, the honour of his lordship's personal acquaintance). The Governor-general entered frankly and fully into a review of the state of affairs, and of his intended line of proceeding, accompanying his letter with an outline of his opinion as to some of the public servants, and of the condition of the civil service at Madras. After stating what he considered to be its defects, he pointed out that a servant might reach the most arduous trusts, and discharge them with as much credit as his predecessor had ever enjoyed, without the application necessary for acquiring any of the previous branches of knowledge in the languages, the customs, and laws of the country. The Governor-general expressed his wish to introduce into those countries under Madras, that were in a fit state to receive such an improvement, a permanent settlement of revenue, connected with a speedy and regular administration of justice: from which it was considered such essential benefits had been derived in Bengal. Alluding to the military establishment, he did not believe that there existed in any portion of the world an army more distin-

guished

guished for its high state of discipline, or for the activity, gallantry, and skill of its officers, but the defects were those which impeded the putting any considerable portion of that army into action. This point was pressed on the serious attention of Lord Clive, with a request that his lordship would allow Colonel Wellesley, whose regiment was under the government of Fort St. George, to have the honor of stating at large the Governor-general's views for its defence. The Governor-general bore the strongest testimony to the merits and services of Lord Hobart, whom he had known with the utmost degree of intimacy for many years. He then adverted to the relative position in which the governments of Madras and Bombay stood towards the Supreme Government, and pointed out the law as bearing upon the power of the Governor-general, who—

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Marquis Wellesley on the powers of the Supreme Government.

Being in possession of the whole superintendence and control, as well as of the means of comprehending in one view the entire state of the Company's empire and trade, and of all the various considerations and circumstances which may affect either, must frequently issue instructions, the fundamental principles and final scope of which cannot at first sight be fully understood by the other presidencies: in such cases (as well indeed as in any of those already described), I am persuaded that your lordship will concur with me in thinking, that the duty of the other presidencies can never be to mix direct or indirect censures with their formal obedience to the legal authority of the Governor-general in Council: still less can it be their duty, to anticipate his decisions

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decisions by the premature interposition of their opinions and advice in any quarter, where such interference may counteract the success of his general plans, and may introduce all the mischiefs and confusion of divided councils, and of conflicting authority. On my part you will always find a sincere disposition in every transaction, both public and private, to consider your lordship's authority as a part of my own, and to repel every attempt to disunite the two governments.

Lord Clive on the finances of Madras.

The financial difficulties experienced at Madras, which have been already noticed, and had formed matter of discussion between the President of the Board and Lord Clive before the latter quitted England, were now fully corroborated by his lordship, who stated in a letter to Mr. Dundas that they were in a far more distressing situation than they had any conception of. That the main army of that presidency consisted of not more than 8,000 fighting men, without means of relief, there being no prospect of marching against Seringapatam before January 1800.

Expulsion of French force from Hyderabad.

The expulsion of the French force from Hyderabad now demanded the Governor-general's attention. The office of resident was filled by Captain Kirkpatrick: that of assistant by Captain Malcolm. The latter appointment having been made by the Governor-general in consequence of a communication through Colonel Wellesley, that Captain Malcolm was qualified not only as a linguist, but as an active, intelligent, and diligent officer,

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officer, and well acquainted with the political state of India. The late Sir Thomas Munro, in expressing his opinion, and certainly no person was better qualified to form a correct one on the best course of policy, observed, "we have for several years had a small detachment of two battalions with the Nizam. This is too trifling a force to give us any control over his measures, but it serves as a model for him to discipline his own army, and it compels us either to abandon him disgracefully, as we did last year, or to follow him headlong into any way he may rashly enter." This opinion was given in September 1796, two years before Lord Wellesley reached India, and to a quarter in Scotland from whence it was not likely to reach the ears of his lordship.

Treaty with Nizam.

On the 1st September the treaty with the Nizam was concluded. The subsidiary force to be supplied by the Company was to consist of 6,000 men, with artillery. This treaty facilitated ulterior measures for effecting the entire reduction of the French with his highness, and the complete subversion of their dangerous influence at his court. It was felt that the measure would likewise enable the Nizam, in the event of a war with Tippoo, to co-operate in its vigorous prosecution with great effect.

The detachment under Colonel Roberts reached Hyderabad on the 10th of October. On the 22d the British troops under the orders of the Nizam,

 in

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in co-operation with a body of 2,000 of his cavalry, surrounded the camp of the French army, disarmed all the sepoys, and secured the persons of all the French officers then in the camp. A measure happily effected without bloodshed or contest.

It had been planned and prosecuted by the Governor-general with the strictest secrecy, to which precaution the sudden and instantaneous effects were, in a great degree, if not wholly, attributable.

Intended operations against Mysore.

The Governor-general, amidst his various other engagements, never lost sight of the importance of carrying on effectual operations, with a view to future measures against Mysore. The vigilance exercised by his lordship, and the energy he infused into the public functionaries, in taking measures to secure the necessary supplies, and in providing for the efficient conduct of the commissariat, was of incalculable advantage, and presented a striking contrast to former operations.

A dispute having arisen with Tippoo respecting his right to Wynaad, a small district on the Ghauts, on the borders of Malabar, the Governor-general, after satisfying himself that the Sultan's claim was well founded, issued immediate orders for its relinquishment; an intimation to that effect being made to Tippoo on the 1st of August.

The whole bearing of the Governor-general's views regarding that chieftain, and the very moderate

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moderate terms of satisfaction that were to be demanded as explained by Colonel Wellesley, at the instance of the Governor-general to Lord Clive, led the latter to declare, "that it had relieved his mind from much solicitude."

To circumvent Tippoo and cut off all communication by sea with the French emissaries, the whole of the Malabar coast was occupied by the Company's troops. A force was to be stationed at Poonah, another at Hyderabad, and a third on the frontiers of the Carnatic.

Tippoo declines all overtures.

A proposition on the part of the Governor-general to open a negotiation with Tippoo, through the intervention of Col. Doveton, whom his lordship proposed three several times to depute, was studiously evaded by Tippoo. Hostile measures appearing to be unavoidable, the Governor-general determined to proceed in person to Madras, and thereby save the delay that would be otherwise occasioned by distant communications and references, which could also be far better and more advantageously decided on the spot.

Previously to his lordship's quitting Calcutta, his attention was diverted to a very delicate and important point connected with the army, which formed one of the subjects referred to when the nomination of Lord Cornwallis was announced to India in 1797.

The regulations respecting regimental rank had been carried into effect, but the Governor-general determined

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Marquis Wellesley's judicious proceedings regarding orders from home as to the army.

determined to suspend the execution of those relating to the allowances granted by the Government in 1796. "If," observed his lordship, "the temper of the army afforded any ground to suspect, that the execution of the reduction ordered by the Court would produce either disrespectful remonstrance or intemperate opposition on the part of the officers, no crisis, however extreme, would have induced me to modify the orders of the Court. In such a case, the power and authority of the Government, and the discipline of the army would have been at stake; and every other consideration must have been superseded by the indispensible necessity of subduing every remnant of the spirit of insubordination, and of preserving the main spring of our military strength. But I am happy to declare my conviction, that the army is in a temper to receive, with dutiful submission, whatever regulations the Government enforce."

Adverting to the probable call upon the army for its full exertions against "the most formidable combination by which the British empire in India was ever visited;" he added, that although submission to a mutinous army is a weak policy in any conjuncture of affairs, a crisis which demands every military exertion, it is not the season in which any incentive to zeal and alacrity could be withdrawn from the army without a considerable aggravation of the existing danger; and the various heads of intended reduction being specified, his lordship placed

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placed the whole of his sentiments on record in a secret minute, for the deliberate consideration of the Court of Directors. The prudence of Marquis Wellesley's determination was strongly marked by this judicious postponement. Difference of opinion has never existed as to the purity of intention and high honour and integrity of Marquis Cornwallis's administration, but on some occasions a blind sort of reverence is paid to his lordship's opinions and policy, from which it seems little short of sacrilege to differ; but still experience is the best instructor, and we find that on this very point of the military arrangements of 1796, some opinions were advanced which may justify these remarks.

We are now looking out a little impatiently for the army arrangements. Some copies have arrived in this country of those said to have passed the Board of Control and the Court of Directors, but they follow too closely the plan of Lord Cornwallis to give general satisfaction. Eighteen thousand sepoys will never be found sufficient for the services of the coast, and eighteen hundred men is too great a number for a regiment. Corps of this strength might answer well enough in an open country, where the troops are kept together in large cantonments, but they are ill calculated for a country with an extensive frontier covered with forts like the Carnatic; in order to garrison, every battalion is broken. After all the reductions, we shall be five thousand above the proposed number, and in the event of a war, it would be more economical to have eight thousand extra than to limit ourselves to Lord Cornwallis's number. The loss of a single campaign would be attended with more expense than would counterbalance all the savings. Had Lord Cornwallis been called upon to combat

1798. combat Tippoo without any assistance from the Mahrattas, I suspect he would have given a very different plan from that which has now been brought forward.*

An opinion had been entertained, both at home and in India, that it was good policy to maintain Tippoo as a barrier between the Company's provinces and the Mahrattas, but at the same time not to allow him to extend his dominions. The consequence of this "whimsical" project was to render the native powers so warlike, that the necessary augmentation of our own armies would absorb our revenues. It was asserted with much truth, that a comparison of the military establishment, King's and Company's, as it stood in 1797, with what it was twenty years before, would prove that affairs were fast advancing to that point: "the Company flattered themselves that their late arrangements have set limits to this increase, but they must go on increasing while the cause which produces them exists, *viz.*, a prince who meets us with regular armies in the field."

Negotiations with Poonah.

Colonel Palmer, the resident at Poonah, had been authorized to communicate to the Peishwa the authentic copy of the proclamation by General Malartic at the Mauritius, during the residence there of the ambassador from Tippoo, with the view of inducing the Peishwa to modify the thirteenth article of the treaty of Poonah, which provided, that if Tippoo should molest or attack either

* Colonel Munro.

either of the contracting parties (*i. e.* the Nizam, the Peishwa, or the Company), the others should join to prevent him: the modes and conditions of which were to be settled by the three contracting parties. The declaration of the durbar at Poonah of 3d July 1793, explanatory of the article, stated that, "if a breach of engagement occurred on the part of Tippoo with respect to either of the allies, let that ally advise the other allies thereof, and act agreeably to treaty."

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The Governor-general's object was to engage, under that treaty, the reception at Poonah of a subsidiary force from the Company, and co-operation in the intended measures against Tippoo, with whom every attempt was first to be made through negotiation. The restoration of the Nizam to his proper influence, and the annihilation of the French force at Hyderabad, had been pointed out as important objects. But his highness could not be induced to accede to the Governor-general's propositions, and his lordship accordingly directed the resident to abstain from all further solicitation.

Peishwa declines subsidiary alliance.

The Government of Bombay had promptly met the views of the Governor-general in preparing for eventual operations. The army at that presidency being put in an efficient state under General Stuart. Mr. Duncan's measures, through his agent in Bushire, Mehedy Ali, at the court of Baber Khan, in Persia, had completely succeeded in drawing off Zemaun Shah. The Governor-general expressed his entire

Persia.

1798. entire satisfaction at the able manner in which the retreat of that chief had been effected, and desired that a present should be made to Mehedy Ali not exceeding three lacs of rupees. His lordship's views were directed to extending and improving the British relations with Persia to the utmost practicable degree, and Mr. Duncan's opinions were desired as to the commercial and political objects to be sought in any treaty that might be formed with that kingdom.

Commissioners for Mysore.

A commission, consisting of the Hon. Colonel Wellesley, Lieut.-colonel Close, Lieut.-colonel Agnew, with Captain Malcolm, assistant at Hyderabad, and Captain Macaulay, to act as secretaries, was appointed for the purpose of carrying on negotiations with all tributaries and principal officers who, as subjects of Tippoo might be disposed to throw off allegiance to him and place themselves under the Company or their allies.

Declaration of hostilities against Mysore.

A declaration of hostilities against Tippoo was made at the same time, the Sultan being apprized that General Harris, who commanded the army against Mysore, would receive any communication from him for treating with Government. General Harris acknowledged the final instructions from the Governor-general in the following terms :—

General Harris acknowledges instructions.

Their very satisfactory contents are perfectly understood. I shall not attempt an elaborate letter of thanks for them, or for all the noble and liberal confidence and encourage- ment

ment they contain, but I trust to that Providence on whom I depend: and allow me here to relieve your lordship's mind from the fear that I shall permit myself to become a *despondie* in the business, by the assurance that never in my life was I known to have the smallest tendency or turn that way; on the contrary, in some severe trials I have been most cheerful in the support of others, and, thank God, have always found my spirits to rise in the hour of danger. As you have taken care to secure me by every tie dear to man—by gratitude, by my own honour and conscience being pledged, and by the Eastern policy of having my wife and children in your hands, I think you will not be deceived.

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Nagpoor.

The Governor-general formed the idea of a connexion with the court of Nagpoor. An embassy was accordingly despatched to the Rajah of Berar, for the purpose of effecting a treaty of defensive alliance between himself, the Nizam, and the Company, against the discovered projects of Scindiah, reserving at the same time a right to the Peishwa to accede to it whenever he might see fit. The fundamental principle of the treaty was to be a reciprocal guarantee of the respective possessions of the contracting powers, including the rights of their allies.

1799. Army under General Harris advances.

The army under General Harris marched from Caukenjena on the morning of the 27th of March; they advanced towards Malavilly, thirty-six miles eastward of Seringapatam, where they encountered a considerable body of the enemy. Colonel Wellesley's division turned the right flank of the enemy, and gave occasion to General Floyd, with three

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three regiments of cavalry, to disperse a body of infantry, cutting many of them in pieces.

Sir John Anstruther to Governor-general.

Sir John Anstruther, the chief justice at Calcutta, in writing to the Governor-general, 27th of March, remarked, "Men concerned in the government of India before your arrival appear not only totally to have overlooked the nature of the war we were engaged in, and the enemy we had to contend with, but to have contracted a narrow limited view of the political interests of England in India; every difficulty was a reason for inaction, and temporary pecuniary embarrassment afforded a satisfactory ground for neglecting the essential permanent and political interests of the country. You have taught them a larger way of viewing the question, and have shown them that difficulties vanish before activity, courage, and perseverance. We all wish your presence here; there seems much to do to regulate the submission of the Provinces, as well as the dominions of Oude."

Court of Directors approve Marquis Wellesley's measures.

The Governor-general had the satisfaction to learn by a despatch from the Secret Committee, dated in June 1799, that his measures regarding *Tanjore*, the *Wynaad district*, the *subsidiary treaty with the Nizam*, and the intended mission of Colonel Doveton to Tippoo were fully approved. A hope was expressed that hostilities with Mysore might be avoided; but in the event of their taking place, the Committee observed, "the respective countries

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countries of the Nabob of Arcot and the Rajah of Tanjore, will of course come under the Company's management, and we direct that they be not relinquished without special orders from us or from the Court of Directors for that purpose, in order to afford sufficient time for the formation of arrangements for relieving those princes from all incumbrances upon their revenues."

The measure of the Governor-general proceeding to Madras was fully approved, as well as his lordship's intention of not interfering in the details of the government. Entire satisfaction was expressed at the zealous co-operation of Lord Clive and his council in the measures of the Governor-general.

It is unnecessary in this place to enter into a detail of the operations against Tippoo.

Successful operations against Seringapatam.

General Harris adopted the expedient of attacking the capital in the heat of the day, it being considered the time best calculated to ensure success, as the enemy's troops would then be the least prepared to oppose the assailants. Seringapatam was in possession of the British army on the 4th of May, and Tippoo fell amongst the slain. The account did not reach Fort St. George until the 11th, the despatch announcing this event being enclosed in a sealed quill, and conveyed through Mysore by a secret messenger, the country being filled with Tippoo's troops and adherents.

During

1799.

During the operations, some days before the siege, a similar misfortune to that experienced by Lord Cornwallis in his night-attack, attended Colonel Wellesley, who missed the road; which led General Harris to remark, "no wonder night-attacks so often fail." At the earnest recommendation of Colonel Wellesley, a permanent garrison was appointed for Seringapatam, and he was nominated to the command by General Harris, who felt that he could not confide the complicated and delicate duties of a civil and political as well as of a military nature, required from the officer in charge of the capital, to any other better qualified to conduct them with advantage.

The Governor-general contemplated proceeding from Madras to Seringapatam, for the purpose of personally superintending the subsidiary measures connected with the settlement of the new acquisitions, and their partition amongst the Company, the Nizam, and the Peishwa. The conduct of the Peishwa had been such as to preclude him from any participation in the territories taken from Tippoo. The cession was nevertheless made, dependant upon his agreeing to the reception of a subsidiary force at Poonah, and to an adjustment by arbitration, of all points in dispute between his state and that of Hyderabad. It having been clearly proved by papers found after Tippoo's death that it was his intention to have employed the arms of France for the purpose of recovering from

Settlement of territory ceded in Mysore.

from the Mahrattas and the Nizam, as well as from the Company, the territories ceded to each under the treaty of Seringapatam, the Governor-general proposed a defensive alliance against any French invasion of India, and likewise the exclusion of the French from his dominions. The Governor-general instructed the Resident to ascertain the portion of territory the Nizam would desire, at the same time cautioning him to be careful to correct any symptom of a disposition, on the part of his highness, to enter into hostilities with the Peishwah or Scindiah: it being his lordship's "most earnest desire to avoid hostilities with the Mahrattas."

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The effect of a great political measure in the public mind is best gathered from the free and unbiassed expression of opinion formed by parties, who from their situation are most competent to judge of the immediate as well as prospective benefit. Such was the position of the public servant,* an extract from whose letter to Sir George Colebrooke, dated at Madras in May 1799, on the fall of Seringapatam, is now given:

French treachery, alike exerted against friend and foe, has been Tippoo's ruin. The French in his service made him believe he might rely on powerful aid to enable him to accomplish his favourite purpose, the expulsion of the English from Hindostan; and we may thank God we have, by the vigilance and ability of our ruler, reversed the picture.

At

* Thomas Cockburn, Esq.

1799. At the period of Lord Mornington's arrival, their plans were completed, and measures actually taken by Tippoo for the provision of a large body of Europeans. This was not all; the French party in the Nizam's service were in correspondence with that in Tippoo's, the Nizam's death was daily expected, and to consolidate their strength, they had projected placing the second son on the musnud, to the exclusion of the British interests.

Lord Mornington saw the growing power with anxiety, and early anticipated the evils that would inevitably result from a peace with France, if in possession of an influence so commanding in the heart of the Deccan. Whether he had taken any measures for rooting out the serpent, prior to the discovery of the plots carrying on by our inveterate foes, I do not know, but the moment these were proved beyond a possibility of doubt, he pursued his object with equal secrecy and ability, and such the celerity of his measures, that the first intimation the public received was the intelligence of the extinction of an army without the loss of a drop of blood!

The success which had attended our arms against Tippoo will, as usual, be attributed to our good fortune; but nothing was left to fortune that wisdom and energy could provide against, and no plans were ever followed up with more concert than his lordship's, by those to whom the execution was entrusted. It has often been a question how far it is consistent with good policy, more nearly to connect ourselves with the country politics, as tending more easily to involve us in war. That must no longer be a question. The empire of the East is at our feet. We have gained and must hold it by the sword: we must either support the commanding ground our conquests and treaties have given us in the East, or we must relinquish the hope of maintaining it to advantage. The consequence of our inactivity

1799.

inactivity in Mr. Shore's government, in the warfare which took place between the Mahrattas and the Nizam, was a lesson which ought to teach us how fatal it may be to allow ourselves to sink in opinion. We have the power to balance the scale; the spirit must not be wanting to exert it; not a hectoring rash spirit, but a determined rule, tempered by justice, judgment to discern what is right and necessary to our safety, with firmness to dictate, and resolution to support what may once be advanced. Nothing so certain of bringing our power into contempt, as a threat never meant to be enforced. It is needless to add after this, that our dominion hinges on *the one man* whom ministry depute as chief ruler. Their appointment of Lord Mornington does them honour; his country will, I hope, honour him equal to his deserts. He entered not on war till every effort to preserve peace and honour with safety was exhausted, and Providence blessed his undertaking. It fell to the lot of General Baird, who was four years a prisoner in Seringapatam, to overturn the tyrant in whose prisons he had severely suffered; but it must be confessed, the tyrant was more exhibited to his enemies than his own subjects, who have given instances of strong attachment; though in general he kept in his possession the families of all whom he employed in situations of trust, his jealousy made our conquest complete. The capture of the families of the commanders of the army compelled their submission. I shall offer no apology for my prolixity on a subject which must interest you so deeply. It will be a deadly blow to the hopes raised in France of our ruin in India, publicly announced. May it operate to the destruction of that many-headed monster, the Directory, though I fear nothing but the combined force of Europe will ever prevail; and that aided by internal feuds, in pulling down a government which could only have been framed in the infernal regions.

 As

1799.

As the Governor-general did not proceed to Mysore, Colonel Wellesley, Mr. Henry Wellesley, and Lieut.-colonels Kirkpatrick and Barry Close, were nominated commissioners for settling the affairs in that country.

Tippoo's sons removed to Vellore, under or d eof Hon. Colonel Wellesley.

The members of the family of the late Tippoo Sultaun were to be removed to Vellore. This painful but indispensable measure was entrusted to Colonel Wellesley, as an officer most likely to combine in his own person every office of humanity, with the necessary prudential precautions.

Colonel Doveton was nominated to the command of the fortress of Vellore, and Colonel Close resident with the Rajah of Mysore.

Rajah of Mysore.

In settling a successor to the musnud, it appeared that the cruelties and jealous policy of Tippoo, with the brilliant and rapid success of the war, had left no Mahomedan influence to afford any serious apprehension. It was therefore determined that the Rajah of the ancient house of Mysore should be restored; Seringapatam was to be retained in full sovereignty for the Company "as a tower of strength, from which we might at any time, shake Hindostan to its centre." The Nizam, from a weak, decaying, and despised state, recovered substantial strength, and resumed a respectable posture among the provinces of India, with the aid of a subsidiary force. The strength he required would not render him formidable to the British power, while our positions at Chittledroog, Seringapatam, and

1799.

and along the heads of the passes, together with the establishment of about seven thousand of our troops in the heart of his dominions, would render him almost absolutely dependant on our power; a power which, used in moderation, would, it was predicted, be permanent, "abstaining religiously from all interference with the Nizam's internal government."

French force with Mahrattas.

The French influence was greatly reduced, but some adventurers still remained with the Mahrattas. The necessity of attending to the artillery in India, and the deficiency of European officers, were points strongly urged on the home authorities; "if once the army was allowed to decline in efficiency, the territory, revenue, and trade, could not long survive. We must be either content to suffer the fate of those whose minds are unequal to their fortunes, and who are afraid of their own strength." The portions of territory allotted to the Company and the Nizam were equal; that to the Mahrattas between two-thirds and one-half of each of the above-mentioned shares. The Peishwa broke off the treaty and thereby lost the portion of territory intended for him, which, under the second article of the treaty of Mysore, was divided between the Company and the Nizam. The Brahmin Poorneah, who had been the chief financial minister under Tippoo, was appointed dewan to the young Rajah of Mysore, Kishna Rajah Oodiaver.

The command of Seringapatam, which was a trust of

1799.
Hon. Colonel Wellesley appointed to Mysore.

of great delicacy and importance, requiring to be reposed in a person of approved military talents and integrity, and to be superintended with peculiar vigilance and care, was continued to Colonel Wellesley, who was likewise confirmed in the command of Mysore, which, after the settlement by the commissioners, became a distinct appointment. The orders being received from the Supreme Government, to whom the commandant immediately directed his communications and report.

The insurgent Doondiah Waugh.

The only impediment to a quiet settlement of that country arose from some disturbance in the provinces of Bednore, occasioned by a partisan of the name of Doondiah Waugh. He was originally in the service of the Patan state of Savanore, but having committed various depredations on the territories of Tippoo, he incurred the resentment of that chief, who contrived to secure his person, and compelled him to conform to the Mahomedan faith. He afterwards employed him in his service, but suspecting his fidelity, confined him in irons some time previously to the late war. Doondiah escaped from Seringapatam in the confusion of the assault on the 4th of May, and, after collecting a considerable force of horse and foot from the fugitives of Tippoo's army and other men of desperate fortune, he united himself with some polygars and the commandant of some forts in the district of Bullum. Doondiah laid the rich country of Bednore under severe contributions, which he exacted with the most unrelenting

1799.

lenting cruelty, perpetrating throughout the provinces the most atrocious acts of rapine, plunder, and murder. A light corps of cavalry and some infantry under Lieut.-colonel James Dalrymple of the Madras establishment, overtook a party, to whom, as an example, it was resolved to show no quarter. Doondiah crossed the Toombuddra; Hurryhur, a fort on the eastern bank of the river, was taken by Colonel Dalrymple, whilst Colonel Stevenson advanced on the other side towards Bednore, and took Simoga by assault on the 8th August; the fort of Hoornallay was taken in the same manner by Colonel Dalrymple. Both detachments having crossed the river, re-united to make a combined attack on Doondiah's camp at Shirkapoor. The fort was carried by assault, his troops dispersed, but he escaped by means of a boat in readiness for him. He was ultimately obliged to take refuge in the Mahratta territory, where, on the 20th of August, Colonel Stevenson saw him encamp with the remnant of his banditti, which he could easily have destroyed, but shortly after the fall of Seringapatam, the Governor-general had apprized General Harris that it was his most earnest desire to avoid hostilities with the Mahrattas, and that even should they have entered the state of Mysore, he did not wish measures of force to be taken to repel them, unless the safety of the British army on their aggression should absolutely demand the use of force. The proceedings regarding Doondiah proved the appre-

1799. apprehensions entertained by General Harris regarding his power too well founded, and they at the same time evinced the respect paid by the Governor-general to the state of an ally who had manifested no favourable disposition towards the British Government. From the subsequent measures which called for the personal exertions of Colonel Wellesley, it will be seen what may be done by an adventurous and rebellious chief. Nothing short of the strong arm of power, vigilantly and promptly applied, can secure the country against the rising of discontented and enterprising natives, but with whom we have no right to quarrel for attempting to throw off a foreign yoke to which they have been constrained to submit by the sword alone. Doondiah met with no very favourable reception at the hands of the Mahrattas; Ghoklah, a native chief, commanding a division of the Peishwa's forces, plundered his camp a few hours after it had been pitched, and carried away all his elephants, camels, bullocks and guns, and as it was imagined, entirely deprived him of the means of future depredations. The province and fortress of Bednore being delivered up to the British troops.

The Governor-general having ordered the preliminary steps, in communication with Lord Clive, towards the introduction of a system of judicature and settlement of revenue into the Company's possessions on the coast, and into the ceded

ceded and conquered districts, embarked from Fort St. George for Bengal on the 5th of September, and arrived at Calcutta on the 14th of that month, having, in the course of less than sixteen months, eradicated the French influence in the Deccan, effected a subsidiary treaty with the Nizam, and annihilated the most inveterate enemy to the continuation of the British power in India.

1799.

Addresses were presented from the inhabitants of Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay, to the Governor-general, expressive of the reverential feeling of admiration that had been created by the wisdom and policy of his lordship's measures, and at the complete success with which they had been crowned.

Votes of thanks were passed by both houses of Parliament to his lordship, and to the governors of Madras and Bombay, and to Generals Harris and Stuart, and the respective armies.

The East-India Company likewise passed unanimous votes of thanks to the same distinguished parties, and to the armies. In connexion with the prize-money derived to the army by the fall of Seringapatam, there is a circumstance which deserves to be specially noticed, as marking the delicacy as well as the high and honourable feeling which actuated the Governor-general. It appears by a letter from Mr. Dundas, then President of the Board of Control, to his lordship, dated the 4th of November 1799, that, in the belief that the prize

1799. prize was so large as to render it improper to give it to the army, he intended to have suggested to the King, that it should be burthened with a large sum, to be at Lord Wellesley's disposal. It did not, however, appear that the prize was excessive, or that his lordship had done wrong in giving it to the army. Instructions were accordingly sent out by the Secret Committee which accompanied Mr. Dundas's letter, to ascertain the value of the military stores captured at Seringapatam, and to report the same to the Court. It had not been customary for the Court to pay for stores of that kind, taken by their arms, and it was stated that they would not, even in the instance in question, be very willing to commence the practice; but they would, however, be induced to do it with the reservation that £100,000 was to be at their own disposal. "Your lordship," observed Mr. Dundas, "will easily guess why that reserve should be made. I have spoken to the Chairman and Deputy-Chairman, and they enter warmly into my suggestions. In some shape or other the idea must be carried into execution; I certainly much prefer the ways I have hinted at, because in those ways it will come in one sum, whereas in any other mode, it must be by instalments, and less valuable." The Governor-general, after stating reasons which, in a personal point of view, would be too humiliating to admit of his accepting such a grant, added, "But, independent of any question

tion of my character, or of the dignity and vigour of my government, I should be miserable if I could ever feel that I had been enriched at the expense of those who must ever be the objects of my affection, admiration, and gratitude, and who are justly entitled to the exclusive enjoyment of all that a munificent King or an admiring country can bestow." 1799.

On the 10th December 1800, the Court of Directors having taken into consideration the important services rendered to the East-India Company by their present Governor-general, the most noble the Marquis Wellesley; the political wisdom and foresight which distinguished his conduct in negotiating and concluding a treaty with the soubah of the Deccan, whereby a body of 14,000 men, commanded by 124 French officers, was completely disbanded, and the officers made prisoners, thereby removing the cause of great political apprehension, and leaving the army of his highness at full liberty to act in conjunction with his British allies in the subsequent conquest of Mysore; the zeal and alacrity shown by his lordship in proceeding to the coast of Coromandel, to forward the equipment of the army which afterwards effected that glorious achievement which not only terminated in the destruction of a most implacable enemy, but by which the Company also acquired a very large addition of territorial revenue; the great ability, energy, firmness, and decision displayed by him during 1800.

1800. during the whole of the negotiation with the late Tippoo Sultaun, and the able manner in which the subsidiary treaty with the Rajah of Mysore was concluded,

Resolved unanimously, That in reward for such eminent services his lordship be requested to accept an annuity of £5,000. The same was unanimously approved by the General Court on the 15th of January 1801.

CHAPTER VI.

1799.

THE Governor-general on resuming his seat in the Supreme Council, recorded the high sense which he entertained of the zealous co-operation afforded by his Excellency, the Vice President in Council,* in the prosecution of the late war, particularly in the prompt dispatch of extensive and important supplies of grain and money, and other articles. The military having occasionally joined in addresses, and the army at Cawnpore being desirous of becoming parties to the general expression of thanks, Major-general Sir James Craig, commanding at that station, discouraged the idea. The reasons which he gave for such a decision, describe the true relation in which an army stands towards the Government. The constitutional jealousy entertained by Parliament of a standing army in this country, presents a barrier to the unlimited increase of so great power, but in India the case is widely different. Our supremacy has been established by the sword, and by the sword it must, for some time at least, be maintained. The strength of the army is consequently rather governed

Inexpediency of opinions of an army on public affairs.

* Lieut.-general Alured Clarke.

1799. governed by the means possessed to defray the cost, than by other considerations. Sir James Craig, writing to the Governor-general, apprized his lordship that if the station he commanded was backward in offering an address of congratulation, it was not from any want of joining most cordially in the general sentiments.

My idea is, that military addresses are highly improper in every point of view. If we assume the right of expressing our approbation of the conduct of our superiors, we have at all times equally the power of marking our disapprobation, at least, by withholding any testimony of the former sentiment; and from thus passing our judgment on the actions of those with whom the direction of the affairs of Government rests, I should think it not improbable, at last, that we might be brought to think that we could manage them better ourselves.

But, exclusive of the impropriety and indecency of this assumption towards our superiors, and not adverting to the danger to which I have alluded, and which must, at least, be looked upon as possible, I confess my lord, that, being entirely a soldier of the old school, I cannot but consider all deliberation in any public assembly of an army, as subversive of every idea of discipline and subordination. If I call together the officers under my command, and submit a proposition to their consideration, it is inconsistent with every notion of justice, that they should not enjoy full liberty of discussion; and I should feel extremely mortified, and should consider myself as having voluntarily stepped into a situation highly unbecoming my station, and equally militating against my duty to the service, were I to find myself involved in a political opposition with some of the unthinking, hot-headed boys which abound in every army.

His

1799.

His lordship observed in reply, "Your sentiments with regard to our late happy successes, your just view of the principles of military discipline, and the correct boundary which you have drawn between the individual feelings of the officers, and the collective duties of the army on the present occasion, afford me the most sincere satisfaction."

Mission to Persia.

The Governor-general determined that a mission should proceed from the Supreme Government to Baber Khan in Persia, to ascertain the intentions and power of that prince, and more particularly of Zemaun Sha, who had threatened the northern part of Hindostan, as well as to endeavour to interest the Court of Persia against either him or the French, should they attempt to penetrate into India through any of the Persian territory. Captain Malcolm was selected for this service, and proceeded from Bengal in October 1799, *viá* Bombay for Bushire, where he arrived in February 1800, having concluded an engagement with the Imaum of Muscat, for the residence there of an agent of the British Government. In February 1801 he transmitted to Bengal copies of two treaties with Persia, the one political and the other commercial. He returned to Calcutta in September 1801, having accomplished every object of his mission. It was productive of a good understanding with the Pasha of Bagdad, a circumstance which it was anticipated would prove, at a future period, of much advantage. The operations of

Treaties with Persia.

Pasha of Bagdad.

1799. Goa.

of the French in Egypt induced the Governor-general to open a negotiation with the Portuguese power at Goa, which led to a British force of 1100 rank and file, furnished by his Majesty's 75th, 77th, and 84th regiments, under the command of Sir William Clarke, being admitted into that place on the 6th September.

Affairs at Madras.

The affairs under the Madras presidency were proceeding most prosperously. A new treaty had been effected with the Rajah of Tanjore, by which the entire administration of his government and revenues was vested in the Company, and measures had also been taken to disarm the southern polygars, who had begun to revolt during the war in Mysore. A code for the introduction of the permanent revenue settlement, and a system of judicature was in a state of preparation,—benefits that were in a short time, to be extended over the whole of the northern circars, the Jaghire, the countries under the Company's dominion ceded in the late war, and in those conquered in the present war, with the exception of Malabar and Canara, and the countries of the southern, eastern, and western polygars, with the kingdom of Tanjore.

Surat.

The affairs of Surat, one of the largest and most populous cities on the western side of India, carrying on an extensive commercial traffic, had in a great measure depended upon the Company. The actual government was retained in the hands of the Nabob, but the system was very defective, and

1799.

and found to be utterly inadequate to secure the interests of the people. The death of the Nabob in 1800, afforded an opportunity for introducing a reform, for which purpose Mr. Duncan, under instructions from the Governor-general, proceeded to Surat in person, to negotiate a treaty with Nusser-ud-Deen, previous to his being confirmed in the station of Nabob. It was concluded on the 13th May; and transferred the management and collection of the revenues of the city of Surat, its territories and dependencies, with the administration of civil and criminal justice, and the whole government of the country to the Company.

Mr. Duncan deputed to Surat.

The deputation of Mr. Duncan gave rise to a question regarding the powers which a governor could legally exercise when absent from the presidency where he presided. The Governor-general inferred that as no special provision had been made by law for such a case, it was the intention of the legislature that whenever the governor of Madras or of Bombay might be absent at places within the limits, but remote from the established seat of government, they should exercise all the powers vested in them by law, when in council at the presidency, as far as circumstances might permit such powers being considered essential to the welfare of the public.

Affairs of Poonah.

The affairs at Poonah, and the distracted state of the Mahratta empire, were other matters that came

1799.

came under Marquis Wellesley's review. The only means in his lordship's judgment of restoring order was through the establishment of a subsidiary force with the Peishwa. For the better administration of the revenues of Bengal, the Governor-general passed a resolution to prevent the accumulation of balances in the hands of collectors, and at the same time recorded his high opinion of the revenue system of Lord Cornwallis, "which had still to encounter some avowed and many secret enemies; he had also formed a plan for the better administration of justice, and in establishing a court of sudder dewanny and nizamut adawlut distinct from the Council, as a supreme court of appeal from all the Company's possessions, exercising a general superintendance over the administration of justice, and the regulations for the police throughout the British possessions.

Revenue and justice.

Malabar and Canara.

The districts of Malabar and Canara were so altered by the late changes, as to require, in the judgment of the Governor-general, the introduction of a systematic and durable plan of rule, flowing from the generosity, justice, and power of the British Government, and not from a timid submission to the refractory spirit of any rebellious tributary. The Governor-general was alive to the necessity of establishing a monthly overland communication with England; and although its importance would more especially be felt during the

1799.

the continuance of war with Buonaparte, he considered that, under any circumstances, a speedy and certain communication between India and Great Britain, deeply involved the interests of both countries.

Deceit of the Nabob of the Carnatic.

Some documents and papers having been found in the palace of Seringapatam after its fall, which appeared to implicate the Nabob of the Carnatic in having carried on an intercourse with Tippoo during hostilities with that chief, an investigation was instituted in order to ascertain whether any foundation existed for suspecting the conduct of Omdut-ul-Omrah.

A deliberate consideration of the evidence established the fact that a secret correspondence had been carried on, both by the Nabob Wallajah and by his son the Nabob Omdut-ul-Omrah. On a further examination it became manifest, that while Mahomed Ali employed his son and successor to negotiate the treaty of 1792 with the British Government, his highness was delegating at the same moment, to the same prince, authority to establish an intimate connexion between his highness's family and the hereditary and implacable enemy of the British empire in India. Lord Clive was therefore directed to assume the civil and military government of the Carnatic, provision being made for the proper maintenance of the Nabob and the several members of his household.

1801.
Death of Omdut-ul-Omrah.

Omdut-ul-Omrah was apprized of this determination by the Governor-general, and that Lord Clive would communicate thereon with his highness. He died in the month of July. Every endeavour on the part of the Governor-general to effect a satisfactory arrangement with Hussein Ali, his reputed son, proving ineffectual, a negotiation was opened with Azim-ul-Dowlah, the undoubted and only son of Ameer-ul-Omrah.

Administration of the Carnatic vested in the Company.

With this prince a treaty was concluded on the 31st of July 1801, by the Government of Madras, when the sole executive administration of civil and military affairs was for ever vested in the Company. It removed the evils of a divided government; the inhabitants of the extensive districts were admitted to the same advantages as the other subjects of the British rule, and the Nabob secured in a portion of the revenues, fully adequate to the maintenance and support of his splendour and dignity. Notwithstanding the recent conquests, the general state of affairs wore a peaceful aspect. Some thieves had been infesting the province of Soondah, where Major Munro was engaged in the settlement of the revenue collections. Colonel Wellesley, commanding in Mysore, advised Major Munro not to let the Mahratta territory stop him in the pursuit of the game when once started, as some cavalry promised by Purneah, supported by a few infantry, would afford a proper "shekar."

The

1800.

Measures contemplated against Batavia.

The Governor-general had received instructions directly from the King, empowering his lordship, in his individual capacity, to take measures for persuading the Dutch authorities at Batavia to place themselves under British protection, as they had done at their colonies of Surinam, Demerara, and Berbice. A plan was accordingly devised to send vessels of war, with a sufficient complement, as an ostensible justification to the Dutch, to surrender the colony into the hands of the British force. The principal conduct of the equipment and negotiation was committed to Admiral Rainier, with a military officer joined in the commission. This appointment Lord Wellesley offered to Colonel Wellesley, as the most fit person to be selected, if he could be spared from Mysore, leaving the acceptance of the service to the option of Colonel Wellesley, after considering the points relating to the probable operations.

Presence of the Hon. Colonel Wellesley desired at Mysore.

Lord Clive made a most earnest request to the Governor-general that Colonel Wellesley might remain in Mysore, as he knew not how to supply his place. The insurgent Dhoondiah Waugh having again made his appearance, Colonel Wellesley was instructed by the Madras Government "to pursue him wherever he could be found, and to hang him on the first tree," for which purpose authority would be given him to enter the Mahratta frontier.

Lord Clive, in a letter to Colonel Wellesley,

 repre-

1800.

represented that if he vacated the command in Mysore, he could not fill it by an appointment to his satisfaction. Colonel Close, then at Seringapatam, also adverted to the contemplated change with feelings of alarm, and asked whether Mysore was not a most important charge, whilst the service at Batavia could not be equally so. It was upon this communication that Colonel Wellesley addressed Mr. Wellesley from camp at Currah: "I have left it to Lord Clive to accept for me Lord Mornington's offer, or not, as he may find it most convenient for the public service. The probable advantages and credit are great, but I am determined that nothing shall induce me to quit this country until its tranquillity is restored."

Colonel Wellesley ready to meet the demands of the public service.

Colonel Wellesley wrote to the Governor-general, "I do not deny that I should like much to go, but you will have learned before you receive this, that my troops are in the field." To Lord Clive he remarked, "Dhoondiah is certainly a despicable enemy, but, from circumstances, he is one against whom we have been obliged to make a formidable preparation. If we do not get him, we must expect a general insurrection of all the discontented and disaffected in these countries."

Again, addressing Lord Clive, he stated, "I cannot think of relinquishing the command with which your lordship has entrusted me, at this interesting period, for any object of advantage or credit

dit to be gained in another place. Dhoondiah has beat Gocklah ;* there is not a single paddy field in this whole country, but plenty of cotton ground swamps, which in this wet weather are delightful.

1800.

When in camp, on the right of the Malpoorba, on the 31st of July, Colonel Wellesley wrote to Major Munro:

Colonel Wellesley's operations against Doondiah, and correspondence with Major Munro.

I have struck a blow against Dhoondiah which he will feel severely. I surprised his camp at three o'clock in the evening with the cavalry, and we drove into the river or destroyed everybody that was in it.

And on the 1st August:

I must halt here to-morrow to refresh a little, having marched every day since the 22d July, and on the 30th, the day I took his baggage, I marched twenty-six miles, which, let me tell you, is no small affair in this country. My troops are in high health and spirits, and their pockets full of money, the produce of plunder.

Major Munro, in a letter of the 9th August to Colonel Wellesley, observed:

Your dashing way of carrying on the war is better calculated than any other to bring it to a speedy conclusion. Dhoondiah and his assophs, and foujdars, and nabobs, certainly did not expect that their reign was so short: you probably, yourself, did not, a month ago, expect that it would have been terminated so soon: I must own I did not. Your short campaign has added so much to the reputation of our arms, that it will, I think, make our vagabond neighbours respect our frontier more in future. I have not been able to discover from your letter whether Dhoondiah has

* Commanding the Peishwa's troops.

1800. has gone towards Kittoor, or crossed the Malpurba. I see, however, that five thousand of his people have gone to the bottom, which is some satisfaction in the mean time. I have lost the only map I had, and can, therefore, make nothing of your present route, nor of the country between the Malpurba and the Kistna; but I make no doubt that you mark, as you go along, what part lies convenient for us as a new frontier, and what posts might, by a little strengthening, be used as depôts in carrying on war hereafter to the northward. Darwar would be a good station, but you may have seen others more to the eastward. A war with an enemy that could bring fourteen or fifteen thousand horse into the field, as the Mahrattas have sometimes done, would be a very serious matter, were we obliged to draw our rice from such a distance as we now do. We must not let all your conquests go for nothing, otherwise we shall have Soondah just as much exposed as ever. I trust that, besides subduing Dhoondiah, you will extend the limits of our empire, as far, at least, as the Malpurba: if to the Kistna, so much the better. Your opinion on this head would, most likely, determine the conduct of Government.

Again, in a letter on the 14th of August, to Colonel Wellesley, from Cundapore.

Your success has been so much more rapid and complete than I could have expected, that the great object of seizing on any posts belonging to the Mahrattas, in order to keep the enemy at a distance from our own frontier, is now removed. To keep your allies in good-humour is now what is principally required, and this you can easily effect by ordering my people to stay at home. Your present expedition will answer many useful purposes; we shall, as you say, have gained a knowledge, conciliated the principal people, and raised our reputation; but I much doubt our being able to establish

establish a government capable of preserving the relations of amity and peace: indeed I am convinced that we cannot; all will be well while your army is present, but withdraw it, and you will soon see what will happen. It is the character of all Indian governments, that whenever the energy of the ruling power is gone, every subordinate agent under the title of Nabob, Rajah, &c. pushes for independence. Look at the numberless revolutions Delhi has undergone, while the title of emperor still remains. It has always been, and always will be the same under all Indian governments. Had we to do with distinct independent nations, as in Europe, it might be wise to withdraw again into our limits, for the sake of preserving an useful ally, but here things are entirely different. Savanor makes no part of the Mahratta nation, and is less connected with it than the natives of Mysore. *To throw it back again upon a power which cannot keep it, would only be keeping in reserve for ourselves a second military expedition to restore order.*

1800.

I confess, for my own part, that, as we have thought it necessary to appear in India as sovereigns, I think we ought to avail ourselves, not of the distresses of our neighbours, but of their aggressions, to strengthen ourselves, and to place ourselves in such a situation as may be likely to prevent such attacks hereafter. Scindiah has been allowed to increase his power by the subjugation of the Jeypoor and Odapoor rajahs, and also, in a great measure, of the Peishwa. I am for making ourselves as strong as possible before the French return to India, and set Scindiah to war with us, after completing his demi-brigades with pretended deserters.

If you reduce Dhondiah completely, the Mahrattas ought to think themselves well off in giving up to us, for our help and expenses, all on this side of the Malpurba.

Colonel Wellesley acknowledged Major Munro's letter in camp at Hoobly on the 20th of August.

My

1800. My ideas of the nature of the Indian governments, of their decline and fall, agree fully with yours; and I think it probable that we shall not be able to establish a strong government on this frontier. Scindiah's influence at Poonah is too great for us, and I see plainly, that, if Colonel Palmer remains there, we shall not be able to curb him without going to war. There never was such an opportunity for it as the present moment: and, probably, by bringing forward, and by establishing in their ancient possessions the Bhow's family under our protection, we should counterbalance Scindiah, and secure our own tranquillity for a great length of time. But I despair of it: and I am afraid that we shall be reduced to the alternative of allowing Scindiah to be our neighbour, upon our old frontier, or of taking this country ourselves.

In my opinion, the extension of our territory and influence has been greater than our means. Besides, we have added to the number and the description of our enemies, by depriving of employment those who heretofore found it in the service of Tippoo and the Nizam. Wherever we spread ourselves, particularly if we aggrandize ourselves at the expense of the Mahrattas, we increase this evil. We throw out of employment, and of means of subsistence, all who have hitherto managed the revenue, commanded or served in the armies, or have plundered the country. These people become additional enemies: at the same time that, by the extension of our territory, our means of supporting our government, and of defending ourselves, are proportionably decreased.

As for the wishes of the people, particularly in this country, I put them out of the question. They are the only philosophers about their governors that ever I met with—if indifference constitutes that character.

These extracts from the early correspondence of

of two such distinguished parties in the acquisition of the British possessions in India, not only put us in possession of their views on the affairs as they were in progress, but present those affairs in a far more interesting light than could be imparted by mere dry official despatches. 1800.

After further active operations in pursuit of the fugitives, Colonel Wellesley, leaving his infantry, pushed on with his cavalry only. On the 9th of September, in the evening, Dhoondiah, who was designated "the King of the two worlds," was within nine miles of the British force, but Colonel Wellesley's horses were so much fatigued, and the night was so bad, he could not move. In announcing his further proceedings, he wrote from camp at Yepulpurry, 11th September.

After a most anxious night, I marched in the morning and met the King of the World with his army, about five thousand horse, at a village called Conahgull, about six miles from hence. He had not known of my being so near him in the night, and had thought that I was at Chinnoor. He was marching to the westward, with the intention of passing between the Mahratta and Mogul cavalry and me. He drew up, however, in a very strong position, as soon as he perceived me; and the "victorious army" stood for some time with apparent firmness. I charged them with the 19th and 25th Dragoons, and the 1st and 2d Regiments of Cavalry, and drove them before me till they dispersed, and were scattered over the face of the country. I then returned and attacked the royal camp, and got possession of elephants, camels, baggage, &c. &c., which were still upon the ground. The Mogul and Mahratta cavalry came up about eleven o'clock;

1800. o'clock; and they have been employed ever since in the pursuit and destruction of the scattered fragments of the rebellious army.

Thus has ended this warfare; and I shall commence my march in a day or two towards my own country. An honest killadar of Chinnoor had written to the King of the World by a regular tappal, established for the purpose of giving him intelligence, that I was to be at Nowly on the 8th, and at Chinnoor on the 9th. His Majesty was misled by this information, and was nearer to me than he expected. The honest killadar did all he could to detain me at Chinnoor, but I was not to be prevailed upon to stop; and even went so far as to threaten to hang a great man sent to show me the road, who manifested an inclination to show me a good road to a different place.

Colonel Wellesley proceeds to Trincomalee.

General orders were issued at Madras on the 24th of December, expressing the thanks of the Governor-general in Council and the Governor of Madras for the services against Dhoondiah, and announcing that Colonel Wellesley, having received instructions from the Governor-general in Council to proceed to Trincomalee to take the command of a force destined to attack the Mauritius, Colonel Stevenson would succeed to the command in Mysore, Malabar, and Canara. Colonel Wellesley accordingly proceeded to Trincomalee. Admiral Rainier not having made his appearance at that port by the 28th January 1801, Colonel Wellesley wrote to the Bengal Government, and expressed his opinion that the season would be too far advanced to admit of the attack. A letter which he received from

1801.

Changes in the command of intended expedition.

from the Governor-general, two days afterwards, confirmed him in this view, and intimated the Governor-general's determination to resume the expedition to Batavia; on which occasion General Baird was appointed to command the military, and Colonel Wellesley to act as second in command. At the completion of that service, the intended measure against the Mauritius was to be prosecuted, when Colonel Wellesley was to take the command and act under his former orders. By a subsequent letter from the Governor-general of the 5th of February, Colonel Wellesley was apprized of instructions having been addressed to Admiral Rainier, General Baird, and himself, assuming the possibility that the admiral might not attack Batavia, but determine on the expedition to the Mauritius; in which event General Baird was to take the command and Colonel Wellesley to act as second. Before this letter was received by Colonel Wellesley, a despatch reached him from Madras, with the copy of a letter from his Majesty's Secretary of State, dated the 6th of October, to the Governor-general, desiring that a force from India might be in readiness to act in Egypt. In order to give effect to these instructions, he determined to proceed to Bombay with the troops intended to act under orders from Bengal, as the rendezvous at the former presidency presented, in his judgment, the greatest facility for promoting the expedition to Egypt. Having made

Measures against Egypt.

Colonel Wellesley's foresight in proceeding to Bombay.

1801.

He differs with Mr. North, governor of Ceylon.

made his intentions known to Mr. North, the governor of Ceylon, that gentleman not only differed in opinion, but placed his sentiments on record. This act imposed upon Colonel Wellesley the necessity of justifying his intended course, which he did in a clear exposition of his reasons, accompanying his formal address to Mr. North with a private letter, in which he expressed his regret that General M'Dowall, then commanding in the island, should also have thought it necessary to write a public letter upon the subject, as he felt that it considerably increased his responsibility. "But," he added, "I conceive the grounds upon which I have determined to go to Bombay are so strong, and the urgency of the measure so great, and will appear so much so to all those who will have to judge of my conduct, that I persist, and I still hope that it will meet with your approbation and that of General M'Dowall." Colonel Wellesley thus early displayed that judgment, foresight, and determination, which proved of such infinite advantage in his subsequent career: his zeal for the public service was equally apparent. Aware that General Baird was destined to command the force to Egypt, and concluding that the Governor-general would not send both expeditions, he wrote to the general—dated the 21st of February, on board his Majesty's ship *Suffolk*, commanded by Capt. Pulteney Malcolm,—recommending him to come to Bombay immediately or he

he might be too late. Colonel Wellesley's proceedings were approved by the Governor-general. Having reached Bombay, he wrote from thence to his brother, the Hon. Henry Wellesley, on the 23d of February. Alluding to further explanations, he observed :

1801.
His disappointment at the change in the commands at this period.

I shall always consider these expeditions as the most unfortunate circumstances for me, in every point of view, that could have occurred; and as such shall always lament them.

I was at the top of the tree in this country: the government of Fort St. George and Bombay, which I had served, placed unlimited confidence in me, and I have received from both strong and repeated marks of their approbation. Before I quitted the Mysore country, I arranged the plan for taking possession of the ceded districts, which was done without striking a blow; and another plan for conquering Wynaad, and re-conquering Malabar, which I am informed has succeeded without loss on our side. But this supercession has ruined all my prospects, founded upon any service that I may have rendered. Upon this point I must refer you to the letters written to me and to the Governor of Fort St. George, in May last, when an expedition to Batavia was in contemplation; and to those written to the governments of Fort St. George, Bombay, and Ceylon, and to the Admiral, Colonel Champagné, and myself, when the troops were assembled in Ceylon. I then ask you, has there been any change whatever of circumstances that was not expected when I was appointed to the command? If there has not, (and no one can say there has, without doing injustice to the Governor-general's foresight,) my supercession must have been occasioned, either by my own misconduct, or by an alteration of the sentiments of the Governor-general. I have not

1801. not been guilty of robbery or murder, and he has certainly changed his mind. But the world, which is always good-natured towards those whose affairs do not exactly prosper, will not, or rather does not, fail to suspect that both, or worse, have been the occasion of my being banished, like General Kray, to my estate in Hungary. I did not look, and did not wish, for the appointment which was given to me; and I say that it would probably have been more proper to give it to somebody else; but when it was given to me, and a circular written to the governments upon the subject, it would have been fair to allow me to hold it till I did something to deserve to lose it.

I put private considerations out of the question, as they ought, and have had no weight in causing either my original appointment or my supercession. I am not quite satisfied with the manner in which I have been treated by Government upon the occasion. However, I have lost neither my health, spirits, nor temper in consequence thereof.

But it is useless to write any more upon a subject of which I wish to retain no remembrance whatever.

General Baird takes command of the expedition.

General Baird arrived at Bombay on the 30th of March, when Colonel Wellesley delivered over to him the command of the troops. They sailed on the following morning. Colonel Wellesley wished to have proceeded as second in command. His intention was, however, frustrated by illness. He therefore wrote to General Baird, and transmitted a memorandum which he had prepared for the operations in the Red Sea; and stated that he should remain at Bombay as long as the season would permit, and then proceed to Madras, as the command in Mysore was to be open to him, under the

the orders of the Governor-general. He accordingly resumed that station on the 28th of April, and appears to have been fully occupied in organizing the civil and military administration of Mysore.

1801.

Colonel Stevenson was nominated to the command in Malabar and Canara, under the authority of Colonel Wellesley.

Lieut.-general Gerard, afterwards Lord Lake, was appointed commander-in-chief by the Court of Directors, on the 1st of August 1800, in succession to Sir Alured Clarke, who retired in February 1801.

At this time letters-patent were issued by the Crown, appointing Marquis Wellesley Captain-general in India. The measure was adopted to prevent the possibility of difficulties arising in the direction and employment of the King's forces, who were under the immediate direction of officers commissioned by the King, and not by the Company; and also to invest the Governor-general with full command over the military forces employed within the limits of the Company's exclusive trade. The letters-patent required his lordship's obedience to all instructions, orders, and directions from the First Commissioners for the affairs of India, or from any of his Majesty's principal Secretaries of State.

Marquis Wellesley appointed by the King Captain General.

The

1801. Oude.

The settlement of the Company's future relations with the state of Oude, which had been particularly pointed out by the Directors as a matter demanding the earnest attention of the Government, was now brought to a conclusion.

The Governor-general, in obedience to the Court's views, contemplated, at the close of the year 1798, entering upon a revision of the Vizier's establishments. The state of his troops was a pressing evil: they consisted of an armed rabble unworthy the designation of a military force. The civil establishment was in entire disorder, and the systems under which the revenue was extorted were in violation of every principle of justice.

Lieut.-colonel Scott succeeded Mr. Lumsden as resident, in May 1799. He was possessed of the Governor-general's views for effecting a reduction of the Vizier's forces, for which those of the Company were to be substituted. The Vizier had expressed his intention to consult Colonel Scott, on the reform of his military establishment, but no steps had been taken for the purpose. The Governor-general accordingly addressed his Excellency, pointing out to him that the Company were bound, by treaty, to defend his territories against all enemies; but that the number of British troops stationed in Oude was not adequate to the object, in the event of an invasion of his dominions. The demonstrations by Zemaun Shah, and the impossibility of the Company's increasing their means on

on a sudden call, rendered some decisive measures requisite, to place the Vizier's country in a condition of safety.

1799.

Oude.

The Secret Committee were apprized by the Governor-general of his intended measures in November 1799, and likewise that the Vizier had communicated to Colonel Scott his fixed determination to abdicate. The Governor-general observed, "Whatever may be his motive, it is my intention to profit by the event to the utmost practicable extent." His lordship entertained a confident hope of either establishing the exclusive authority of the Company in Oude, with the consent of the Vizier, or placing affairs there on a more satisfactory footing. His lordship caused a paper to be transmitted to Colonel Scott, in the shape of an answer to the Vizier's intimation, made through the resident, of his intention to retire from the government of Oude. It contained the objections which occurred to the Governor-general to such a step, and pointed out the proceedings that would become necessary in appointing a successor, which would likewise involve a question regarding the disposition of his accumulated wealth, and other matters. The Vizier had declared his intention to take this treasure with him; but it was pointed out to him it was the property of the state, and therefore liable to its engagements. It is most probable that a knowledge of this fact induced his highness, who was extremely parsimonious and

fond

1800. Oude.

fond of wealth, to alter his determination, and to abandon all idea of relinquishing the government. The Secret Committee were apprized of this circumstance in June 1800. The Governor-general stated his concern at the determination, and experssed his belief that the proposition of the Vizier had been from the first illusory, and designed, by artificial delays, to frustrate a reform in his military forces; but that he had no doubt of accomplishing the original intention of reducing the Nabob's forces and substituting those of the Company. To this measure the Governor-general had been urged by communication from Mr. Dundas. Lord Wellesley, writing to Mr. Dundas, stated, "I trust that it is nearly accomplished, but not without great reluctance on the part of the Vizier, whose character has been displayed on this occasion in the genuine colours of Asiatic treachery and falsehood."

Opinion of Sir John Anstruther on Oude.

Sir John Anstruther having made a tour to Allahabad, communicated the result of his observations on the country through which he had passed. "Benares is a garden: I can compare the country from Buxar to Mirzapore to nothing but a fine English park which has been ploughed up, and the owner, not to spoil the view from his house, has bestowed continual pains on the cultivation. From Mirzapore to Allahabad I went by dawk, nearly thirty miles of the road lay through the Vizier's dominions: the difference is not to be described; the country is a desert,

desert, but the remains of cultivation visible. Villages only to be distinguished by the rising grounds covered with broken bricks formed of their ruins. Desolation cannot be more strongly painted, but I am told that the effect of disbanding the troops in many places is already felt: people having a soldiery to protect and not to plunder them, begin to return to their fields. What would not that country be, under British government?"

1801.

In January 1801, the prospect of a failure on the part of the Vizier with the necessary payments, determined the Governor-general to take decided steps to remedy evils which were to be traced from an early period to bad government. The Vizier remonstrated against the cession of territory required to meet the charge of the troops, and then stated that he found his original idea of abandoning the government to be altogether impracticable. He urged that the payment of his kists was a sufficient proof of improvement in his system. The truth was, that he found the regular payment of the kists to afford the only hope of his retaining the management of the internal administration of his affairs. He did not reflect for an instant on the objectionable means employed to raise the funds, which inflicted intolerable evils on the people, whilst the force which he pretended to maintain for the defence of his dominions, in which the Company were as much, if not more deeply concerned than himself, was really a use-

 less

1801.
The Hon. Henry Wellesley deputed to Oude.

less armed rabble, unfit for any service but pillaging his subjects. In the month of July, the Governor-general accredited the Honourable Henry Wellesley, his lordship's private secretary, to the Vizier, with authority to conclude, in concert with Lieutenant-Colonel Scott, one or more of the treaties that officer had received. The Governor-general himself intending to proceed to the Upper Provinces as soon as the situation of public affairs would admit, his lordship announced his intention to the Secret Committee in a letter from Monghyr, of the 28th September, in which he stated, that it appeared to be a primary article of his duty to ascertain at the earliest opportunity, by the best evidence which could be collected, the real operation of the existing system of the Company's government, upon the prosperity of the country, and upon the wealth, industry, morals, and happiness of the people. An advantage would also arise to the stability of the government, from the inhabitants being convinced that the officer executing the supreme power, was enabled occasionally to superintend and control in person the conduct of the subordinate administration, as well as to investigate and watch the condition of the civil service in remote parts, and to satisfy its members that their respective characters and conduct were under the observation of the Governor-general, and to encourage and reward honourable exertion.

An

1801.

An interview took place between the Vizier and Mr. Henry Wellesley on the 6th of September, when the former begged it might not be understood that he pledged himself to the acceptance of any specific proposition, but that he was sensible any resistance to an arrangement proposed by the Governor-general would not be for his advantage. Lieutenant-Colonel Scott was present during the whole of the conference. The treaty ultimately agreed upon was signed on the morning of the 10th of September, by which the Vizier ceded districts to the Company yielding a jumma of 1,35,23,474 Lucknow rupees. Mr. Henry Wellesley was appointed to preside over the ceded country, and sundry other gentlemen were nominated to assist him in the administration of affairs, and to take charge of the districts from the Company's officers. A copy of the treaty was transmitted by the Governor-general to the Court of Directors whilst on the Ganges, near Benares. His lordship described it as providing for the substitution of a regular force, in lieu of the irregular and precarious military power of the Vizier. The payment of the subsidy was no longer to rest on the faith of the native government of Oude, nor subject to be affected by the corruption, imbecility, and abuse of a vicious and incorrigible system of misrule and vexation, in the support of which the influence of the British name, and the power of the British sword, had been frequently applied,

thereby

1801. thereby upholding a system disgraceful in its principles and ruinous in its effects. A positive right of interference on the part of the Company was reserved in the internal management of the country remaining with the Vizier. The Governor-general anticipated, that in the course of a year the settlement of the ceded districts would be so far advanced as to enable him to withdraw Mr. Henry Wellesley, who would superintend it until that time.

The Vizier met the Governor-general at Cawnpore on the 19th of January. All discussion on the treaty was purposely deferred by his lordship until reaching Lucknow, when six points were proposed, and, under modification, agreed to.

The arrear of augmented subsidy of twenty-one lacs was to be paid.

The immediate reduction of the military establishment.

The exchange of the district of Handea, and any other districts south of Allahabad, which interfered with the Company's frontier.

The regular payment of the pensions.

The introduction of an improved system of administration, with the advice and assistance of the British Government.

The concentration of the British military force to be employed in his excellency's dominions, at a cantonment in the vicinity of Lucknow.

On

1801.

On the 15th February, the Nabob Vizier delivered to the Governor-general a paper of propositions, calculated to preserve his power and authority, which appeared to be drawn up with great judgment and discretion; at the same time that the modified assent of the Governor-general, with certain stipulations in favour of the authority to be exercised by the Resident, showed the extent of power which the individual filling the post would possess. It called for the exercise of the greatest caution in the selection of an officer of high honour and character, for so responsible a post.

By the treaty, concluded in November 1801, the Vizier's power was to be completely established within his reserved dominions, and to be exercised through his own officers and servants, the British Government agreeing to guarantee the establishment of his excellency's authority within those dominions. The British Government was never to depart from this engagement.

CHAPTER VII.

1801-2.

IN the autumn of 1801, both the Marquis Wellesley and Lord Clive contemplated retiring from their respective governments. The measures of the Governor-general in effecting the expulsion of the French from Hydrabad,—in the conquest of Mysore, and in the arrangements respecting the Carnatic, had received the entire approbation of the home authorities. High commendations had likewise been passed upon the conduct of Lord Clive, in supporting the measures of the Supreme Council, and in administering the government of Fort St. George. The causes which operated upon the minds of those noble functionaries, and made them desirous of relinquishing their charge, arose out of the peculiar constitution of the Company.

Contemplated retirement of Marquis Wellesley and Lord Clive.

Causes.

The Proprietary was divided into three classes, each possessing a relative degree of power, which they could exert on given occasions.

The Shipping interest;
The City interest; and
The interest of the Agency-houses.

The two first were at that time by far the most powerful,

1801-2.
East-India shipping system.

powerful, and of these the shipping interest preponderated.

From the causes which bound the members of this interest together, and more frequently called it into operation, it presented a very formidable body. The question regarding the Company's shipping affairs had for a long period agitated the home councils. The Company felt that the distance which separated them from the source of their commerce, rendered it necessary for them to pay great attention to the links which united them. This led to the Company equipping and navigating their ships in a manner very different from that which prevailed in other branches of commercial dealing. When territory came also to be combined with their commerce, the attention to their shipping was found to be still more needed, as their vessels were fitted both for defence and the transport of troops for service in their territorial possessions. Their shipping was gradually brought to such a standard of perfection, both in point of equipment and navigation, as far to surpass all other shipping of a commercial character, and even to rival the navy of every other country, that of Great Britain excepted; but even here, the scientific knowledge and skill in navigation possessed by the officers in the maritime service of the East-India Company, was not secondary to that possessed by the officers of the Royal Navy.

The best proof of the efficiency of the Company's maritime

1801-2. maritime establishment was the very trifling loss which attached to it, either in men or merchandise, through the long and perilous navigation of an Indian voyage. Evils, however, of a very various and complicated nature, soon began to engraft themselves upon a system, thus excellent and successful in many of its objects. Some captains who had raised themselves to affluence in the service, obtained seats and considerable power in the Direction. The outfit and equipment of the Company's ships employed a very large capital, and the persons interested in those concerns qualified themselves as voters.

The consequence of these measures, and a combination of other secondary causes, which it is not necessary here to enumerate, were, that in process of time the managers and owners of those ships, by combining together, obtained such an influence, both in the Courts of Directors and Proprietors, as almost to be able to direct the measures of the Company, not only in matters relating to the shipping concerns, but also upon great political subjects which frequently formed matter of public discussion in the General Court. Hence various abuses prevailed. The rate of freight was exorbitant; every thing of its kind was excellent, but scarcely any attention was paid by the owners to the stowage; their expenditure was profuse; their indulgence to the captains great, so that little came into the pockets of those who held shares of ships, save

and

and except to the managing owner. The high rate of freight and other outgoings became at last so glaring, that a revision took place in the system. Still sufficient of the old leaven remained to entail upon the finances a heavy and unnecessary burthen. It will astonish owners at the present day to know that a ship was originally engaged for four voyages only; with some difficulty it was afterwards extended to six. The keel of a new ship was permitted to be laid down upon the bottom of the ship worn out or lost. It was to be built under the Company's immediate inspection, and to be commanded by the captain of the old ship lost or worn out, and the new ship came in her turn to be employed. The number of ships required by the Company soon became known as a matter of certainty, and thus the shipping system of the Company, although revised and improved, still formed a separate and powerful interest, very jealous of interference, extending even to the casual admission of other than river-built shipping, but the idea of foreign built vessels was never for a moment thought of.

1801-2.

It has been seen in the Charter Act of 1793, three thousand tons were set apart for the use of the private trade in the India commerce.* The mode and cost of this supply were objected to by the merchants engaged in the India trade, and they unceasingly endeavoured to impress upon the Minister the injustice of excluding India-built shipping from bringing home the empty tonnage

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* *Vide* page 137.

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* *Vide* page 137.

1801-2. which found its way to Europe through foreign capital: a fact alluded to by Lord Cornwallis, who had pointed out the obligation on the Company to facilitate the means of remittance.*

In the summer of 1797, Mr. Dundas, then president of the Board of Control, addressed the shipbuilders in the river Thames, through Mr. Perry, an eminent builder, and urged the injustice, as well as folly, of depriving a large description of the subjects of Great Britain of a right which undoubtedly belonged to them. The British dominions in India being under the sovereignty of Great Britain, the ships built there were equally entitled to all the privileges of British-built shipping. Those privileges had not been withheld from ships built in the West-Indies, or Canada, or any other foreign dependency of the empire. The builders had never set up a claim to prohibit any of the shipping, in those quarters, from bringing home the produce of their own territories in ships of their own building. The sound policy was to make the whole trade of India to centre in Great Britain, either for consumption or exportation. The large shipping built for the Company had, it was admitted, a greater claim to consideration, as well as the workmen connected with it for employ; but those who contended for the exclusion of all other shipping, forgot that the commerce of the Company was to be regulated by their means, and that

* *Vide* page 48.

1801-2.

that it was impolitic to admit of foreigners enjoying that which the British merchant ought alone to possess. The principle of exclusion was also urged by the ship-builders, in the belief that it would materially interfere with their interests, whereas it was quite clear that the India produce would find its way to Europe, and if through other channels than the shipping belonging to England, or her possessions in India, the repairs and outfit would be derived in a foreign port, and the produce of India, in the room of being alone purchased at the Company's sales, would be procured on the Continent or elsewhere.

Notwithstanding these sound principles, the opposition promoted by the shipping interest led to a conspiracy far from creditable to the shipbuilders, by which the interests of the ship-carpenters in the river Thames were inflamed, at the moment when the feelings of the country were excited and alarmed by the state of the navy, and the mutiny at the Nore.

On the arrival of Lord Wellesley at Calcutta, in May 1798, the mercantile community at that presidency presented an address of congratulation, and expressed the satisfaction which they felt at his lordship having been a member of the Board of Control, as in that station he must have acquired a full knowledge of every point beneficial to the territories over which he was placed, as well as to the commerce of the mother country; and urged

1801-2. urged on his consideration all the arguments that had been advanced in favour of a general permission for India-built ships to carry cargoes to London, under certain regulations, so as to secure a permanent benefit to the East-India Company, the British nation, and the nations and countries in Asia under the sovereignty of Great Britain. They contended that such a measure would annihilate the illicit trade of Europe, and secure great advantages to London, as the depôt for Asiatic commerce. The Supreme Government, in October following, accordingly sanctioned a notice from the Board of Trade, proposing to hire, on account of the Company, ships, qualified according to law, to proceed from Bengal to England with cargoes, such tenders to be made by the 31st of January 1799.

India-built shipping taken up in Bengal.

Mr. Dundas, as to shipping interest.

In March of that year, the President of the Board of Control announced to the Governor-general, that the financial state of India affairs would form the subject of an early communication from home; but he thought it right to put his lordship in possession of his sentiments on some points, regarding which a difference would arise between the Board and the Directors, that must ultimately be settled by the authority of the former. He pointed out the expediency, under certain circumstances, of opening loans in India, for the purpose of raising funds for the investment, and stated that it was necessary he should give a particular

1801-2.

ticular consideration to these matters, "because it was very natural that the Court of Directors should turn their eyes chiefly to the state of their affairs in Leadenhall Street, as both the Directors and the Proprietors were flattered by the view of sales uncommonly large, and a swelling balance in their home coffers;" it being, at the same time, obvious to every person, who took a comprehensive view of their affairs, that this flattering delusion, if permitted to go on for a very few years, would bring irretrievable ruin upon the affairs and finances of India. He, at the same time, admitted the importance of keeping up a large investment from India. Alluding to a report having reached him, that the Governor-general had issued an advertisement for a supply of tonnage for Europe, Mr. Dundas observed, "I hope the information is true, both because it is a measure of much wisdom, and because it will bring the point directly to issue. You need not be under any apprehension as to the result of it."

Governor-general's views.

Lord Wellesley, before he received the above communication, wrote to Mr. Dundas on the 29th January 1800: "that the matter of the private tonnage had given him much trouble: he found it difficult to decide such a question permanently, on principles supposed contradictory to the orders of the Court of Directors; and that he should endeavour to proceed at least as far as to prevent the trade from taking a bent towards foreign European markets

1801-2. markets this year: but he remarked, "*You ought, in justice to my situation, to decide the question at home.*"

Thus the Governor-general's adoption of a measure which was so strongly opposed by the shipping interest, as a separate body, and then by the Company, in conjunction with that interest, who urged their own views by bringing to their aid the argument, that the measure entrenched upon the exclusive privileges of the Company, created a feeling strongly adverse to the Governor-general, which impression gathered additional strength from the question having involved the Court of Directors in extreme difference with the Board of Control, as it was expected to have led to an open rupture, and an appeal to Parliament.

Opposed by the Court.

Wisdom of his lordship's measures.

The measure advocated by Mr. Dundas, and carried into effect by Lord Wellesley, was calculated to promote the permanent interests of India. The principles upon which the measure was founded are equally applicable in the present day to the state of our relations with that country.

"It is to the increased exports from India to Europe that we are to look for the increase of Indian prosperity, industry, population, and revenue. The increase in the export of our manufactures from this country is the most desirable source for supplying means for returns from thence, and the export of such manufactures ought to have no limits, except what are prescribed by the power of selling them in India or China."

Another

1801-2

Causes that operated adversely to his lordship.

Another measure which created an unfavourable feeling towards the Governor-general, was the mode adopted by his lordship for extending the means of education to the civil service.

Lord Wellesley's administration was distinguished by the encouragement extended to the Company's servants, whether civil or military, where their qualifications fitted them for prominent employ. The penetrating eye of the Governor-general discovered and drew forth merit, and the parties selected experienced the most liberal support in giving effect to the enlightened measures of his lordship's councils.

Calcutta College.

The great and rapid changes which the course of events produced, convinced the Governor-general that more enlarged means were required for qualifying the junior servants to enter upon a field of duty, which embraced the dispensing justice to millions of people, of various languages, usages, and religions. The administering a vast and complicated system of revenue throughout districts equal in extent to some of the most considerable kingdoms in Europe, the maintaining civil order in one of the most populous and litigious regions of the world,—acting occasionally in the capacity of governors of the respective districts in which they held the offices of collectors, or magistrates, taking part in arduous and distant political missions and embassies, and in aiding the councils of Government on momentous matters of great delicacy,

1801-2.

cacy, both politically and financially. These considerations led his lordship to record a minute, which contained a proposition for establishing the College at Fort William, on the 4th of May, being the anniversary of the fall of Seringapatam and the conquest of Mysore.

The Directors did justice to the motives which actuated the Governor-general. The plan evinced the enlightened views of his lordship: but it was thought to involve an indefinite expense,—to embrace far too wide a field, and to contemplate the acquirement of various branches of knowledge, the study of which it was considered might be prosecuted with more success at home. It was also felt that the embarrassed state of the Indian finances, the amount of the public debt, the unparalleled scarcity of money and depression of public credit, with the suspension of a considerable portion of the investment,—combined to render the plan inexpedient. In January 1802, the Court resolved on its immediate abolition.

The third cause for dissatisfaction was to be found in the interference of the Court of Directors with certain appointments made by the Governments abroad.

Removal of Mr. Webbe, and other appointments from home.

One of the parties at Madras, supposed to be adverse to the Governor-general's views in 1798, was stated to be Mr. Josias Webbe, then secretary to the Madras Government. He was an officer of acknowledged talent, and possessed of very general information

1801-2.

information regarding the state of India and the Company's affairs. After the arrival of Lord Clive, he evinced as great zeal in aiding the views of the Governor-general as it was conjectured he had before exerted to oppose them.

In the month of June 1801, the Directors, writing to the Madras Government, adverted with great satisfaction to the success of Colonel Wellesley against Dhoondiah, and conveyed the expression of their special thanks to him as well as to the officers and troops who served under him. They then animadverted upon the great expenditure that had been incurred, and observed, "if bounds were not set to it, but, on the contrary, every occasion was eagerly embraced for the erection of new offices (alluding to the town-major of Vellore and others), there would be no end to the expense. Instead of retrenchments, a great additional charge had been incurred." They, nevertheless, expressed a very high sense of the services rendered by the Commissioners in Mysore, and presented the Hon. Colonel Wellesley, the Hon. Henry Wellesley, and Lieutenant-colonel Kirkpatrick, who composed the commission, with ten thousand pagodas each. In addition to these strictures on expenditure was the Court's interference in appointments under the presidency of Madras. They stated that they had seldom exercised the power; but when, in their judgment, ineligible parties had been selected in preference

Animadversion on expense.

 to

1801-2. to others possessing pretensions, they felt it their duty to interpose. They, therefore, desired the appointment, made by the Governor of Madras, of Mr. Falconer to the Board of Revenue, to be annulled, and nominated Mr. Place, then in England, to the vacant seat at the Board. This gentleman had incurred the displeasure of the Madras Government. In the event of any other arrangement having taken effect, the Court still desired their orders regarding Mr. Place should be carried into execution. They also directed that Mr. Webbe, who had so long filled the office of chief secretary, should be appointed to some other station.

It could not be matter of surprise that these orders should create strong feelings in the minds of the Governor-general and Lord Clive. The former, when at Moonghyr, on the 28th of September, wrote to the Court, expressing a wish to retain charge of the government, while the exigency of affairs might require his presence, and while the Court were pleased to extend to him the aid and encouragement of their confidence and support; and stating that he had experienced great anxiety since the departure of Sir Alured Clarke, as no provisional successor had been appointed especially in his room. His lordship urged the necessity of that measure, and pointed out Mr. Barlow, his experience of whose character, and his implicit confidence in his talents and virtues, would leave him

him without doubt in reposing the government in his hands: but still he felt the impropriety of the Government devolving on any one not possessing the advantage of the Court's previous approbation and of their declared confidence: without which "the most splendid abilities combined with the most exalted virtues, might be found unequal to the burthen of this great empire."

1801-2. Lord Clive to the Court of Directors.

The letter from the Court to the Madras Government was acknowledged by Lord Clive on the 15th of October. His lordship entered into an explanation of the measures he had carried forward under the direction and in communication with the Governor-general. He remarked, that the system wisely introduced by Lord Cornwallis had been carefully fostered by the Marquis Wellesley. In order to establish a spirit of public virtue, honour, and emulation among the servants, it was necessary to degrade some and advance others. His lordship eulogised the conduct of Mr. Webbe, whom having found secretary, he continued as such, from his great merits, and when the Governor-general contemplated sending him to Poonah, he had requested he might remain at Madras. He had since gone to Bengal, to receive the Governor-general's views regarding the Carnatic. His lordship added, that if the internal merit of his measures, the success of his administration, and the force of personal character, should not be sufficient to maintain the confidence of the Court of

1801-2.

of Directors against the calumny of an internal cabal, it was his earnest desire that a communication of their sentiments might be accompanied with a provision for relieving him from the charge of his government.

Lord Clive at the same time addressed a private letter to the Governor-general, then in the Upper Provinces, in which he referred to the despatch from the Directors, and requested that this present communication should be considered an official intimation of his desire to embark immediately for England, and that the Governor-general would make provision, as he might see fit, for the contingency of his departure.

Governor-general as to Mr. Webbe.

The Governor-general was, the same moment, writing to the Secret Committee from Patna, on the 18th of October, "I acknowledge with gratitude the assistance which I received from the knowledge and abilities of Mr. Webbe, whom I directed to attend me at Fort William, for the purpose of aiding me in forming the system of measures to be adopted for the future administration of affairs in the Carnatic, in consequence of the treachery of the Nabob. The obligations of public duty, and the most indispensable rules of justice, concur to demand from me a recorded testimony in favour of the indefatigable talents, powerful abilities, and personal integrity of Mr. Webbe, who adds to these qualities a most accurate knowledge of the oriental languages, and an intimate

1802.

intimate acquaintance with every branch of your affairs in the Peninsula." The Governor-general, when near Cawnpore, on the 1st January 1802, reiterated to the Court of Directors his wish to relinquish the government in the December or January following.

The orders of the Court of Directors respecting the removal of Mr. Webbe, and the appointment of Mr. Chamier as chief secretary in his room, were issued in the belief that they would produce Lord Clive's resignation, and thereby break the powerful link that supported the whole course of the Governor-general's policy and proceedings, opposed as they were to the views entertained by the Court, although strongly supported by the Board of Control. But the orders from home produced a totally opposite result.

Lord Wellesley had laid considerable stress upon the necessity of the Directors extending their confidence to the party filling the post of governor-general. There was still nothing in his lordship's public communication to induce a belief that his retention of that office was incompatible with his feelings. But an extract from a private letter addressed by Lord Wellesley, on the 10th of June, at Cawnpore, to Mr. Addington, then prime minister, now for the first time published, contains the reasons which weighed with his lordship in desiring to be relieved from the charge of the government.*

"Distrust,

* *Vide* Marquis Wellesley's Despatches, vol. iii.

1802. "Distrust, and a want of confidence manifested on the part of the Directors, as well as their interference in the appointments abroad, and their curtailment or rejection of allowances made by the Governor-general; their recent orders for the removal of Mr. Webbe, and the appointment of Mr. Chamier to that office, thereby driving a most honest and valuable public servant from the most confidential executive office in the state, directly in the face of Lord Clive's most decided countenance, and of his own most marked respect and regard." The direct appointment of Mr. Chamier from home, was considered to comprise every degree of personal indignity which could be offered to Lord Clive or to the Governor-general, together with every practicable injury to the public trust committed to their joint charge. Lord Wellesley declared that he would not separate his character from that of Lord Clive.

In addition to the causes already detailed, the fourth and last arose out of the deputation of the Hon. Henry Wellesley to Oude; it was felt by the Court to be an interference with the claims of their own servants for employment, and a consequent interference with the principle upon which the patronage had been reserved to the Company. The subject regarding Oude being also reported in the secret department, was necessarily unknown to the Directors. It was like most other secrets, little worth knowing, but the mode of dealing

dealing with it, whilst in conformity with the Act of Parliament as to treaties and negotiations, only increased the rumours which tended still further to awaken the suspicions of the Directors, as to his lordship's views and intentions.

1802.

Lord Clive having been apprized, through Captain Malcolm, of the Governor-general's sentiments, in reply to the communication he had addressed to him at Cawnpore, intimated to the Court of Directors, in February 1802, that he had postponed his departure from Madras. In a letter his lordship received from the Governor-general in August following, he learned that the *Swallow* was placed at his service, in the event of a successor having been sent out by the Court. In this letter, the Governor-general referred to the multiplied, complex, and vexatious affairs that had required his personal attention for some time past. Among them was the decease of Hajih Kulleel Khan, the Persian ambassador to the British Government, who was accidentally shot at Bombay, whither Major Malcolm had been deputed from Calcutta to conduct the explanation for transmission to the Persian court. The reductions in the military expenditure, and the amount of force in consequence of peace with France, had occupied his lordship's attention; whilst he was, at the same time, apprized of the feelings which existed in the Court of Directors regarding some of his measures.

The

1802.

The Earl of Dartmouth had succeeded Mr. Dundas at the head of the Board of Control. He expressed, in a letter to the Governor-general, the most serious regret that any transactions should have taken place at home of a nature to induce him to quit India; and his desire that the same councils which had brought the war to so glorious a conclusion, should continue to preside over the work of peace. His lordship also stated that the Court of Directors had appointed Mr. Barlow provisional successor, in case the Governor-general should, at any time, think proper to quit India; and that a plan in preparation by the Board of Control, for the distribution of the Indian army, would be sent out, leaving, as far as possible, all discretionary power with the Governor-general. Lord Dartmouth added, the Board were engaged in warm dispute, with the Directors, upon the *private trade*.

Remarks on causes of difference.

A combination of circumstances frequently give rise to feelings that would never have existed, had the causes which produced them been disposed of as they arose.

The measures producing such differences between the Board and the Court, affected particular interests, all combining to render questionable, in the opinion of the Directors, the acts of the Governor-general. His lordship, however, felt that his best course was to act as his judgment and discretion pointed out, leaving the decision upon his measures to the authorities to whom the law had rendered him amenable.

The

1802.

The course of policy pursued by the Governor-general was viewed with admiration by the public, but the powers of unrestricted disbursement contended for by his lordship were incompatible with the existing system. The principle, if followed out, would have placed the public purse under the sole control of the Governor-general, who would have been at liberty to incur any cost, pleading the good of the service as a sufficient reason. All public expenditure in this country is jealously watched by Parliament, but that of India is not guarded by any such check; it became therefore still more necessary that the orders from home restricting unauthorized expenditure should be implicitly obeyed, unless the safety of the state demanded the outlay, a circumstance in itself presenting a sufficient justification. On the other hand, the orders of the Court of Directors regarding Mr. Webbe were viewed as an attempt to reach one of the highest functionaries in India, through a subordinate officer, whose merits formed his greatest fault. This measure, taken in connexion with the other instructions from home regarding Mr. Place, Mr. Chamier, and Mr. Falconer, produced strong feelings in the mind of the Governor-general and Lord Clive, as more or less implicating their personal character. The former declared that a sense of the propriety of observing a submissive and respectful deportment in all his official communications to the Court, induced him to abstain

1802. abstain from officially recording the real and efficient causes of his resignation.

Change in the Direction. Jacob Bosanquet, Esq., Deputy Chair.

Whilst Lord Dartmouth was addressing Marquis Wellesley, the annual change inthe India Direction took place at home. Jacob Bosanquet, Esq., who had filled the chairs in 1797 and 1798, was again chosen Deputy Chairman. He was a man possessed of the most upright and honourable feelings, of irreproachable integrity, and was independent both in mind and fortune. Disengaged from business, and intimately acquainted with the affairs of the Company and of India, he took a warm interest in maintaining a system he believed to be well adapted to answer the purposes for which it had been framed. He was a strong advocate for supporting the Company's privileges, but at the same time desired to preserve a good understanding with his Majesty's Government, where he could do so without the sacrifice of principle.

Letter to Lord Dartmouth.

In writing to Lord Dartmouth shortly after his lordship's accession to the office of President of the Board, he observed:

For more than a year we have been disputing about our trade, the Board disclaiming the most distant intention of interfering with it. But somehow or other, during this period, our rights and powers of acting have been completely suspended. From day to day we have patiently submitted to contumely and attack. Prepared at last to vindicate our rights, and seeing no choice but the most determined resistance, we deemed it not of essential importance to be very choice in our words. The resolution is certainly strong when referred only to

to the paragraphs in question, not strong enough if it has a view to the whole conduct of the Board.

1802.

Be this, however, as it may, I hope you will believe that, as far as respects ourselves, we are both infinitely above standing out, or making any difficulty whatever upon a mere punctilio; we deem such things of very trifling importance, indeed, when compared to what we have in hand.

With the same frankness, Mr. Bosanquet wrote to the Governor-general, in a private letter in May 1802.

Mr. Bosanquet to Marquis Wellesley.

I think it my duty to tell you that the Court are not well pleased that they hear so little from you, and also view with some jealousy the choice you have made of your brother to regulate the government of Oude, so many of the old servants being upon the spot, who must have been at least as well qualified as your brother to take this situation. Upon the latter point they have expressed themselves so strongly, that it will, I think, be unavoidable to take some notice of it in our next public dispatch.

I fear you will experience some difficulties from the pretensions of the French, but they will all yield to firmness, joined with moderation. The late changes which have taken place throughout the world, make a reference to the old entrenchments of treaties and obsolete rights perfectly ridiculous. The only and best ground to take is that of fact. We are and must remain the sovereigns of India, and if our adversaries are not content to meet us upon this footing, they may as well quarrel with us upon this point, as upon any other. We owe our safety to the *sword* and not to parchments, and we ought to take to that which has carried us through our difficulties. It is clear, I think, that if the French wish for peace they will content themselves with what they possessed previous to the war ; if they wish to quarrel, no concession, however large, will satisfy them.

I doubt

1802.

I doubt whether the peace will be lasting,* but I am sure it is as well to wait for change in the French Government in peace as in war, and I consider all cessation from hostilities as "tant de gagné."

Lord Castlereagh succeeds as President.

Lord Castlereagh succeeded as President of the Board in July following. Mr. Bosanquet being requested to state his private opinion to his lordship, on the leading points that demanded attention, he submitted a paper, from which the following is an extract. The matters were of considerable interest, some having relation to questions either now pending, or only very lately settled.

Mr. Bosanquet's suggestions.

First. A complete revision of the military establishment in all its parts, with a determination to curtail all needless expense, both of a permanent and contingent nature, for the purpose of aiding the finances of India; this being the only apparent source from which they can be effectually relieved.

Second. A new modification of the Governments abroad, if, after full examination, it shall be thought that any beneficial alteration can be made.

Third. A careful selection of persons to take charge of the Government.

Fourth. An investigation of the accounts depending between the Company and the Government, that the resources of the Company may be fully ascertained.

Fifth. A system formed either for bringing home part of the debts in India, or for the progressive application of the dormant

* This doubt was well-founded, *vide* page 260.

dormant resources in this country, for the purpose of reducing the interest in India to six per cent. 1802.

Sixth. An arrangement of the Carnatic for the purpose of gradually liquidating the debts due by the late Nabob of Arcot and his father, without disturbing, but rather increasing the Company's receipts, for its defence.—I drop all matters of an inferior consideration.

With respect to money currency, much has been lately written upon this subject, and a minute of Lord Teignmouth deserves particularly to be read. Great inconveniences exist, both in Bengal and upon the coast, from the variations of batta upon the existing coins. It is clear that no palliatives can succeed for any length of time, and the only radical cure for the evils which have been felt, will be that pointed out by his lordship, to reduce the currency to one metal, and to suffer the others to fluctuate as articles of exchange.

During the war, the Company have been well served by their agents at Constantinople, at Aleppo, at Bagdad, and Bussora; but at the time of the French irruption into Egypt, a revision was intended by Government, and may now be effected, of the whole of these establishments.

No doubt an agent of some kind should be continued in Egypt, which, in cases of extreme urgency, may often be the shortest channel of communication with India. It is singular, though true, that the former agent should have been removed, as unnecessary, a few months preceding Buonaparte's arrival there.

These suggestions evinced both sound reflection and good judgment, and no apprehension of touching on any point in the system, where he conceived it might be amended.

Lord Castlereagh announced his appointment as

1802. as President of the Board to the Marquis Wellesley on the 10th of August, and expressed his desire to give stability to the Governor-general's administration. After having had some communications with the India-House, he hoped to write fully as to the settlement of the Carnatic, the military establishment, and the India debt.

On the 10th September, in another letter, his lordship trusted that the Court of Directors would contribute fairly and honestly to render his continuance for another year, in the charge of their dominions, satisfactory.

The Deputy Chairman* of the Court of Directors wrote the Governor-general on the same day; after touching upon some private matters, he stated :

I shall content myself in the present moment with observing, that I see with pleasure an opening offer itself, which holds out some prospect of inducing your lordship to prolong your stay in India for another season, and which will enable you, I hope, to put a finishing hand to the important measures which have been commenced, under your lordship's immediate direction; and to seal, by a proper and judicious curtailment of the Company's late immense expenditure in India, the character, which will then be indelibly stamped upon your lordship's administration. Your lordship must, I am sure, recollect that upon this subject I have invariably held the same opinion, since the first communication which took place between your lordship and me relative to our Indian interests.

With

* Jacob Bosanquet, Esq.

1802.

With the official despatch, which will, I make no doubt, shortly follow the present one, a clear and decisive opinion will, I hope, be conveyed to your lordship, upon the subject of the late measures which have taken place in the Carnatic. To me it has been a matter of much concern that this decision has been so long delayed, as I think both general policy and justice to yourself and Lord Clive called for this relief from that kind of anxiety, which the delay must naturally have occasioned. The delay, however, has arisen from causes, that it was utterly out of the power of the Chairs to control—changes in the political direction of the Company's affairs, which has, for a considerable length of time, created a chasm, which it was not in their power to fill.

I laboured, and I may say most ardently, upon a former occasion, to give relief to the wants of India, and shall do so, I hope with no less success, upon the present occasion. I feel that India has suffered, and all your lordship's measures have been thwarted, by the want of that assistance which certainly you had a right to expect, and upon which it was natural that you should have placed some dependance. But I must, in justice to those who have gone before me, add, that in no event, or under any exertions, could the supply of silver have been very considerable in amount, owing to the real deficiency of it in Europe.

I have much pleasure in congratulating your lordship upon the appointment of Lord Castlereagh to the Presidency of the Board of Commissioners for the affairs of India. He appears to me, both from reputation and from what I have hitherto seen of his talents, so perfectly well qualified to take a lead in the situation he fills, and so indefatigable in his pursuit of information, that I feel a confident reliance he will give complete satisfaction in India, and to the public at home.

 His

1802.

His lordship is extremely anxious that some plan should be immediately suggested for the gradual liquidation of the Indian debt, and that the outlines of this plan should be forwarded to India, to enable our Governments abroad to act in concert with the Court at home. So much, however, depends upon events which cannot be foreseen, that I really think too much of a determined plan will tend more to embarrass than to assist our endeavours.

The official approval of the arrangements and treaty of the Carnatic, by the Court, were sent to Madras in September, and at the same time an official despatch from the Directors of the 29th of that month was forwarded to the Governor-general, requesting that his lordship would postpone his departure until the month of January 1804, under the persuasion that in another season he would be enabled to perfect the retrenchments, as well those resulting from peace, as others of which the Company's affairs might be susceptible.

1801. Peace with France.

Although preliminaries of peace with France were hastened by the success of the British arms in Egypt, and had been signed on the 1st of October 1801, it was not until the month of November that Marquis Cornwallis, as the representative of the British nation, proceeded to France, for the purpose of concluding the definitive treaty. His lordship displayed on the occasion a magnificence totally at variance with his habits and taste. He sailed from Dover on the 3d of November, in a storm: the passage to Calais occupying eighteen hours

hours, during which great apprehensions were entertained for his safety. Having paid his respects to the First Consul at Paris, he returned to Amiens at the close of the month to pursue the object of his mission. The definitive treaty was not signed until 27th March 1802. On the 2d of August, Napoleon was chosen Consul for life; in his reply to the address of the citizens, announcing their choice, was the following remarkable passage:

1801.

1802. Buonaparte.

> Content with having been called by the order of Him from whom every thing emanates, to bring back upon the earth justice, order, and equality, I shall hear my last hour sound without regret and without uneasiness about the opinion of future generations.

When this extraordinary man gave utterance to these sentiments, he little contemplated that such a work, had he been permitted to accomplish it, would have terminated in his being transported from England in the same month, thirteen years afterwards, to an island belonging to the East-India Company, in the midst of the Atlantic, where he expired on the 5th of May 1821!

The delay in signing the definitive treaty caused some suspicion as to the sincerity of the French ruler. In October, an address of Buonaparte to the Helvetic republic, in which he attempted to control the Swiss nation in the exercise of their independent rights, led to a representation on the part of the British Government, through Lord

s 2 Hawkes-

1802. Hawkesbury, to M. Otto, the French ambassador, and to an intimation to the Governor-general, through the President of the Board, not to surrender such conquests as might not have passed to France or Holland under the treaty of peace.

The Governor-general watched with his usual vigilance, and with great anxiety, the proceedings of France towards Switzerland; in acknowledging the instructions from home, he anticipated a renewal of hostilities from the state of affairs as related in the French papers. War with Holland was declared on the 17th of June 1803, and hostilities followed with France. Fortunately none of the possessions of the governments of France or Holland, in India, had been evacuated by the British troops.

1803.

The assurance given to Lord Wellesley by the Chairman, in his private letter of the 10th of September, confirmed as it was by the official despatch from the Court of Directors of the 29th of that month, led to an expectation that the differences which had occurred might pass away. This hope was strongly expressed by Lord Castlereagh on the 15th of November, when he advised the Governor-general that Mr. Yorke had been thought of for the government of Madras, with eventual succession to the government-general; but family reasons having prevented the arrangement, the King's government had recommended Mr. Barlow whenever they might be deprived of his

his lordship's services. Lord Castlereagh felt that there was the strongest objection on general principles to the government abroad being filled by the Company's servants, but observed, "there is no rule which is universal." The high testimonies borne to the character of Mr. Barlow justified the exception. It had been thought expedient to fill up the appointment of succession to the government of Bengal, before steps were taken to supply the appointment for Madras. His lordship, after alluding to his not having yet been able to bring the Court to a decision for regulating the debt, stated: "I cannot yet acquaint you that I have altogether conquered their repugnance to adopt any plan which may oblige them to have recourse to extraordinary resources," and added, "Your lordship is aware how difficult and delicate a task it is for the person who fills my situation (particularly when strong feelings have once been excited) to manage such a body as the Court of Directors, so as to shield the person in yours from any unpleasant interference on their part. I am sanguine in hoping that those impressions, which never should have led them for a moment to forget your substantial services, will pass away, and the remainder of your government be rendered perfectly satisfactory both to your lordship and to them."

1803.

Remarks as to the Company.

The line of conduct marked out by the framers of the Acts of 1784 and 1793, certainly indicated that

1803. that the Directors were to watch over the political events in India, and thus form a check upon the almost absolute power conferred upon the Board of Control. The Court were likewise the depositary of the patronage connected with that country, and the Company's combined resources were applied to the political disbursements of India. The President of the Board was well aware that the territorial possessions had not yielded and could not be immediately expected to yield the means of meeting the additional charges caused by new and unsettled conquests. Had the whole of the receipts from the territorial possessions been placed on the one side, and the charges on the other, it would have been found that not one shilling had in point of fact been realized from the revenues; and, but for the out-turn of the Company's commercial concerns, India would have been a burthen upon Great Britain. The Directors stood also in the character of trustees for the Proprietors, whose interests and privileges they were bound to maintain. The country having given to the Company the exclusive privilege of trade with India and China, was not prepared to bear the least pecuniary charge on account of India.

The aspect of affairs in relation to the Mahrattas had induced the Governor-general to intimate to the Directors, in December, his intention to remain until there was a greater prospect of permanent tranquillity; his lordship received about the same

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same time the expression of the Court's wishes contained in their letter of the 29th of September.* He referred to his foregoing communication, and stated that the Court's former sentiments of disapprobation on various points of his administration, had been received with a degree of concern and regret, proportioned to the satisfaction with which he acknowledged the recent expression of their approbation of his conduct; the expectations of public advantage from his continuance in their service, being sufficient to determine him on the sacrifice of every private consideration to the important duty of obeying their commands.

Impression of Lord Wellesley's mind.

Lord Wellesley nevertheless felt that the motives of his actions had been misconstrued by the Company, and that the request for his continuance had been reluctantly made at the instigation of the Minister. He still invariably observed towards the Court a studied respect in all his official communications to them; but the bearing of his lordship's mind is shown by his private and confidential correspondence with the President, and that he frequently endured a state of painful anxiety and doubt, which must have been enhanced by the disracted state of the Mahratta powers, and the opening that would present itself for the intrigue of foreign emissaries, should the peace of Europe not be permanent, an event which his usual foresight led him to apprehend. The question of the

* *Vide* page 258.

1802. the *Private Trade*, his lordship remarked, had never appeared to him to be of the magnitude or importance described by either of the contending parties. His conduct had been regulated by a calm and deliberate view of the comparative political and commercial advantages to the Company and the nation, of promoting or destroying that branch of trade. He complained of the long silence that had been observed for the three years during which he had been expecting definite commands on the subject, which he had sought with an anxiety " equally assiduous and fruitless." His lordship observed with regard to the appointment of the Hon. Henry Wellesley to Oude, no consideration inferior to the most urgent demand of the public service could have induced him to have withdrawn his brother from the management of his personal and domestic arrangements, the loss having been irreparable to his private interests. So far from its having been injurious to the civil servants, the transaction offered the most considerable advantages that could be conferred upon that service since the acquirement of the dewanny in Bengal.

The Directors had been censured by Mr. Dundas for desiring to keep a good balance in their home coffers,* but they knew full well by experience that their ships, stores, and funds, might be devoted to the public service at the bidding of the

* *Vide* page 239.

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the Secret Committee, or under direct orders from the Crown, without other intervention. But when the state of the Company's finances led the Court to desire reimbursement of the political outlay, their accounts were disputed; and if, after lengthened discussions, they had been partially admitted, the pressure on the national Exchequer rendered a settlement very inconvenient. Such were the facts. It is not now necessary to stand forward in defence of the past system, but so long as that system lasted, and the interests of the proprietors were left to the mercy of the Minister and of Parliament, every one connected with the Company was bound to uphold and maintain the rights and privileges, upon which their claims could alone be successfully supported. These circumstances explain why the Directors watched so jealously, and opposed so strongly, every attempt at the least inroad on the Company's exclusive privileges. This feeling will be better apprehended by the following extract from a private letter of the Deputy Chairman to Viscount Castlereagh, then president of the Board, who held out something of a threat of appealing to Parliament for additional powers to enable the Board to appropriate certain funds for the benefit of India. The measure had immediate reference to the expense of the Calcutta College.*

Differences with Board.

One part of your lordship's letter appears to me to be of so questionable a nature, and likely to lead to such unplea-
sant

* Letter from Jacob Bosanquet, Esq. to Viscount Castlereagh.

1803. sant remarks, should it ever become necessary to lay it before the Court of Directors, that I think I should not discharge the duty I owe to your lordship, and to my own situation, if I did not hasten, at least to point out the apprehensions I entertain, and give your lordship an opportunity of making any alteration which a subsequent view of the subject may suggest.

The passage to which I at present allude, is that in which your lordship seems to me to hold out the interference of Parliament as a kind of threat likely to influence the decision of the Court of Directors upon a point, which, if it is nearly connected with the future prosperity of the Indian empire, attaches itself also as closely to the honour, the credit, and the good faith of the Company at home.

But even if the case should be otherwise, which I cannot allow myself for a moment to think, I should still choose rather to risk your lordship's displeasure by the freedom of my communications, than be thought wanting in any respect in my attention to the rights of those whom I serve, or in any point of what I may conceive to be a necessary part of my duty.

No doubt the omnipotence of Parliament may (if its justice will permit), interfere to abridge the powers, upon which the public faith has been solemnly pledged to the East-India Company.

It may take into its own direction, or place under that of other persons, the control over the commercial and other funds of the Company, which the law has authorized this body to exercise by the statute to which I allude, and by its other acts. But I am sure your lordship will agree with me in thinking, that whilst these powers exist unaltered, it would be meanness in the extreme in the Court of Directors to abandon these rights, or that discretion which they have sworn to maintain and to exercise; nor, I believe, can an instance

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instance of more importance be supposed, than one in which the Company, by the nature of the engagements she may be called upon to take, may, it is true, under one course of events, contribute to the prosperity of the Indian empire; but, under another, if those engagements should exceed the means by which they are to be met, may become herself a mendicant at the bar of that public from whom she has received her rights, and a bankrupt in the fulfilment of her commercial undertakings.

Neither can I, my lord, believe that any benefit would be ultimately derived to the state, from such a wanton exercise of authority. The check, or the supposed unnecessary impediments of a Court of Directors might be removed; but so little submissive is credit (the vital principle of the Company's greatness) to the hand of power,—as the experience of ages has proved in every country where the experiment has been made—that the very resources which would be ample for all the Company's wants under her present constitution, would become paralyzed and of no effect, if force and power should be applied where discretion alone ought to govern.

Your lordship will do me the justice to believe that, if upon this subject I express myself with freedom, it is at least with a good intent that I do so, and that it is far, very far, from my design to arrogate to myself, or to the body of which I am a member, any right or privilege which is not unquestionably theirs. I hope I may also add, that even in the exercise of these, my disposition and theirs will always be the same to meet your lordship's wishes by every reasonable accommodation in our power, for the support of that harmony between the Boards which is so necessary for a successful administration of the Company's concerns.

Lord Castlereagh to Governor-general.

Lord Castlereagh, writing to the Governor-general, adverted to the probability of a rupture with

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with France, and stated that he could only furnish Lord Wellesley with what was passing. He then directed his lordship's particular attention to the plan for reducing the India debt, doing justice at the same time to the honourable exertions of his lordship in effecting retrenchments.

Policy of Marquis Wellesley.

The Governor-general anticipated that even a renewal of hostilities with France, unaccompanied by the danger of military operations with the French in India, or by a rupture between the Company and the Mahratta power, could not occasion any material delay in the liquidation of the debt, provided remittance was made from England for the investment from India. But he considered the instructions from the Secret Committee, which directed the principal attention of the Governor to the reduction of the debt even should hostilities arise, inculcated principles of policy which might prove injurious to the safety of the Indian empire in time of war. Just economy he felt to be a bulwark of strength against the enemy, but he considered that no desire of temporary advantage ought to be allowed to contract a comprehensive scale of military preparations, or to repress the activity of military enterprise in India, in the event of a renewal of hostilities. They ought to be maintained upon a scale to frustrate surprise from the French, and to meet the attempts of the Mahratta powers.

Reports had reached the Governor-general of some

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French views as to India.

some secret engagements between France and the Batavian Republic, by which the latter power had ceded Cochin and other possessions to France. His lordship felt these circumstances called for great caution and vigilance. The views of the French government, in preparing to resume these possessions under the treaty of Amiens, were fully developed in a Memoir prepared by M. Lefebvre, an officer of the French army, and attached to the staff at Pondicherry. It pointed out "the importance of India to Great Britain, the extent of her possessions there, the treatment of the Mogul, and the possibility of a French army reaching India *viâ* Egypt. The object which should first engage its attention on arriving in Hindostan, was the restoration of the throne of Timur; and whilst the British Government would be directing all their attention to defeat the advance from the West, a secret expedition should be prepared to proceed from Spain *viâ* Mexico to Manilla, and another, to be provided by the Dutch Republic, to proceed by the Cape of Good Hope, to the Spanish Islands, and from thence to Trincomalee, a port so important to the English navy. The author of the Memoir was fully master of his subject; and expressed his conviction that if his own country did not enter into his views, that Russia, rapidly advancing in civilisation, would direct her attention to the East."

1803. East." Under other circumstances, and with a less vigilant and comprehensive mind than that possessed by the Governor-general, the machinations of the enemy might have inflicted an irreparable blow on the interests of Great Britain in India.

CHAPTER VIII.

1803.
Hostilities in Europe and in India.

THE apprehensions entertained by Lord Wellesley of a rupture between France and Great Britain, and that hostilities would also arise with the Mahrattas, were unfortunately realized, and disappointed the expectations of the home authorities, that a continuation of peace would admit of further reductions in the Indian establishments.

Company's territorial possessions at this time.

The Company possessed at this time on the Continent of India, BENGAL, BAHAR, and ORISSA, in full sovereignty, to which might be added the province of BENARES, with the territories to the westward of the Ganges, lately belonging to OUDE, but now ceded to the Company. These territories formed an almost uninterrupted line of country from the sea-coast to Delhi, extending from south to north-west more than one thousand miles. The remaining part of the Vizier's possessions were circumvented by those belonging to the British Government.

The coast of COROMANDEL had long been the chief military station. The Company's territories in

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in that quarter of India consisted of the NORTHERN CIRCARS, their ancient JAGHIRE round Fort St. George, the CARNATIC under the late assumption, the CESSIONS made by Tippoo in 1792 in the Tanjore and the Tinnevelly country dependant upon the Carnatic. These dominions, with the others, in entire subjugation to the Company, stretched in a continuous line through the Peninsula of India, from the sea to the coast of Malabar. Contiguous to this line was the country given to OODIAVAR, the restored Rajah of Mysore; but as the Company retained Seringapatam, the rajah being entirely dependant upon them for his defence, the boundary of their rule might be considered the Mahratta state, with the country of the Nizam.

On the upper coast of Malabar, the Company possessed the islands of BOMBAY and SALSETTE, with their trifling dependencies, and the cessions made by the Nabob of Broach.

Quarters of probable hostilities.

The quarters from whence hostilities might be expected to arise, were those of the MAHRATTAS and the RAJAH of BERAR; the latter, although connected with the Peishwa as supreme head of the Mahratta power, did not stand so immediately in the relation of a feudatory as SCINDIAH and HOLKAR.

The states of AVA and NEPAUL were not ranked as powers of sufficient importance to occasion any apprehension, their character and strength

strength being little known, and much underrated. 1802.

The dominions of the RAJAH of BERAR commenced from the sea on the western coast of the Bay of Bengal, being bounded by those of the Nizam on the south-west. His capital was Nagpore. His power was not very formidable, and his territories were generally in an uncultivated state.

The NIZAM had been secured as an ally of the Company, under the subsidiary treaty of 1798.

The most vulnerable part of the Company's frontier was contiguous to the country possessed by Scindiah. In the event, therefore, of a combination of the Mahratta forces, the Peishwa as the head, with Scindiah and Holkar as feudatories, joined to the Rajah of Berar, and directed by the skill and science of French officers,—Scindiah possessing Delhi and the person of the Mogul,—a united force would be collected to act against the British interests of fearful strength, which would demand the utmost exertion of the Government to contend against with success.

Since the conclusion of the treaty of Salbey with the Mahrattas in 1782,* and the aid which they gave under their leader Purseram Bhow, on the occasion of Lord Cornwallis's operations against Seringapatam in 1792, the British Government

* *Vide* vol. i. page 621.

1802. ment had maintained little immediate connexion with them. But both Scindiah and Holkar had since become powerful chiefs, with immense and well-trained forces.

Rise of Scindiah and Holkar.

The rise of the MAHRATTA power has been adverted to, but the origin of both SCINDIAH and HOLKAR, each of whom now engaged in hostilities with the British Government, presents too remarkable a feature in the history of the Company, and of India, to be passed over unnoticed.

The family of Scindiah were of a tribe of cultivators. Ranojee Scindiah was the first who became a soldier; when taken into the service of the Peishwa, his chief employment was the charge of his master's slippers. His advancement is attributed to the Peishwa discovering, on coming out from a long audience with the Sahoo rajah, Ranojee Scindiah asleep on his back, with his slippers clasped with fixed hands to his breast. This extreme care of so trifling a charge struck the Peishwa, who immediately appointed him to his body guard. He became a very enterprising, active soldier; his exertions went far beyond his means, and he was indebted to Mulhar Row Holkar, with whom he formed an intimate connexion, for considerable pecuniary aid. Ranojee died in Malwa, leaving two natural sons, Tukajee and MADHAJEE Scindiah. The latter became the head of the family; and the death of Mulhar Row, in 1764, who was their founder, left Madhajee

hajee Scindiah the first in power of the Mahratta military chiefs. At this juncture Ragobah, of whom so much has been already written, desired to coerce Ahalya Baee, the widow of Mulhar Row Holkar's son, and the representative of the family, into an arrangement that would have destroyed its power. Madhajee Scindiah, though he offered his personal service, as belonging to the household troops of Ragobah, in the character of Peishwa, refused to command the army which he himself possessed against Holkar's family. The Rajah of Nagpoor adopted a similar determination, and thus frustrated Ragobah's designs. Madhajee Scindiah greatly increased his power, and became the principal opposer of the English in the celebrated Mahratta war carried on in favour of Ragobah, during the government of Mr. Hastings.

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He was the nominal slave, but the rigid master of the unfortunate Emperor Shah Aulum; the pretended friend, but designing rival of the house of Holkar; the professed inferior in all matters of form, but the real superior and oppressor of the Rajpoot provinces of Central India; and the proclaimed soldier, but the actual plunderer of the Peishwa.

In the part he took at the treaty of Salbey, he appeared as an independent prince, though manifesting deference to the Peishwa, for whom he made the emperor sign the commission of vice-regent of the empire;* at the same time receiving from the Peishwa a commission as his deputy in that high office.

* *Vide* vol. i. page 687.

1802. office. But after he came to Poonah he was actual sovereign of Hindostan, from the Sutlej to Agra; the conqueror of the princes of Rajpootana; the commander of an army composed of sixteen battalions of regular infantry, five hundred pieces of cannon, and 100,000 horse; the possessor of two-thirds of Malwa, and some of the finest provinces of the Deccan. When he went to pay obeisance to a youth who then filled the office of Peishwa, he dismounted from his elephant at the gates of Poonah, placed himself in the great hall of audience below all the hereditary nobles of the state, and when the Peishwa came into the room and desired him to be seated with others, he objected, on the ground of being unworthy of the honour; and untying a bundle he carried under his arm, produced a pair of slippers, saying, "this is my occupation, it was my father's."

He is stated to have been consistent throughout his life in the part he acted, which appeared more natural, from a manly simplicity of character leading him equally to despise the trappings of state and allurements of luxury. To check the incursions of the Bheels, and to take an effectual part in the wars north of the Nerbudda, in which he was mostly engrossed, he determined to raise a corps of infantry. General De Boigne, when he entered his service, was brought to his notice as the author of a plan to frustrate his operations against Gohud. His forces, thus aided by De Boigne, not only subdued

dued the several petty states in Central India, but broke the proud spirits of the higher Rajpoots, and acquired possessions computed at seventy-five lacs of rupees. He proceeded to Poonah in 1794, where he died.

His object had been to give greater permanency to his government than had hitherto belonged to a Mahratta chief; generally residing in Hindostan, but coming sometimes to Malwa, and remaining a short time at Oojeen. The countries under his own observation are stated to have been well managed, as were also those where the people observed peace and manifested obedience; but, in his endeavour to subdue the chiefs of Hindostan, the provinces of Rajpootana, and the petty rajahs of Central India, to the state of subjects, great cruelties were inflicted by his army, full liberty being given to their irregular violence.

Madhajee Scindiah had no sons. His brother Tukajee had three; the eldest of them died without issue; the second had two, of whom the youngest, Anund Row, became the favourite of his uncle. He had but one son, Dowlut Row Scindiah, who was adopted by his great-uncle as his heir. He was only thirteen years of age at the death of Madhajee, when he succeeded to his great-uncle's vast possessions, and to the command of an army that rendered him the arbiter of the Mahratta empire. Born and educated at a distance from the Deccan, surrounded by Europeans, Mahomedans, and Rajpoots,

1802. poots, and despising the irregular and predatory hordes, whose activity and enterprise had established the fame of his ancestors, Dowlut Row Scindiah was more the principal sovereign of India, than a member of the Mahratta confederacy. The war undertaken by these chiefs against the Nizam in 1795, formed a temporary bond of union, but the campaign was shortly terminated by great sacrifice of territory and treasure, under the treaty of Kurdlah, secured by scenes of art, treachery, and intrigue, which led to the subsequent commotions in the Mahratta states.

The family of HOLKAR were of the shepherd tribe. The first who rose above the class of peasants was Mulhar Row, born in 1693. Appointed originally to watch the sheep of the family, he was subsequently taken into the service of the Peishwa, Bajee Row, and detached into the Concan with the Peishwa's brother Chimnajee. By 1732, he had acquired considerable possessions, and had Indore assigned to him for the support of his troops. He was engaged with the other chiefs in endeavouring to fix the power of his nation permanently over Hindostan, by operations which extended from the provinces of Oude to the Indus, and from the hills of Rajpootana to the mountains of Kumaon. He obtained from the Emperor Ahmed Shah, in 1757, the sirdaismookhee, a due of twelve and a-half per cent. on the revenue of Chandore. He established a considerable influence in the country of

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of Jeypoor, and large domains in the Deccan, with a portion of Candeish. He died at the age of seventy-six. Inferior to Madhajee Scindiah as a statesman, he is represented to have been his superior as a soldier. His administration is said to have been firm but considerate, as well as his conduct towards the Rajpoot princes of Malwa, whose respect, if not regard, he conciliated by good faith, and moderation in the exercise of power. He was generous, and had no personal regard for money; in his several relations of life he is stated to have done that from his heart, which Madhajee Scindiah did from his head. The one was a plain, sincere soldier; the other added to great qualities all the art of a crafty politician. Mulhar Row had only one son, Kundee Row, who was killed in 1752 at the siege of Kumbheer, four coss from Deig, lying equi-distant between that place and Bhurtpore. Kundee Row had married Ahalya Baee, of a family of the name of Scindiah, by whom he had one son and one daughter. The Peishwa immediately sent the son a khelaut, or honorary dress, recognising him as successor to the power and possessions of his grandfather. He was of weak intellect, and died insane. His mother, Ahalya Baee, defeated the intrigues of the Brahmin minister of the late Mulhar Row, who was in concert with Ragobah, the Peishwa, and determined to exercise the right she possessed of electing a successor, which claim she resolved to maintain at all hazards. Hearing that Ragobah

Ahalya Baee.

1802. Ragobah was making preparations to attack her, she advised him not to make war on a woman, from which he might incur disgrace, but could not derive honour; she made preparations for hostilities, in which the troops of Holkar evinced the greatest enthusiasm. Ragobah was accordingly induced to abandon his intentions.

Ahalya Baee selected for the command of her armies Tukajee Holkar, a chief of the same tribe, but no way related to Mulhar Row. Tukajee obtained an honorary dress from the Peishwa, confirming him in his high station. The authority of the Holkar state, although thus divided, remained undisturbed by jealousy or ambition. Tukajee, by desire of Ahalya Baee, was styled on his seal "the son of Mulhar Row Holkar." Although he was in the Deccan for nearly twelve years together, all the districts south of the Satpoora range were managed by him: but he always consulted Ahalya Baee, who was in fact the head of the government. Tukajee acted a conspicuous part in the war which the Poonah government, united with the Nizam, carried on against Tippoo in 1784. The administration of Ahalya Baee is described as having been singularly successful.

Principles of Ahalya Baee's government.

The first principle of her government appears to have been moderate assessment, and an almost sacred respect for the native rights of the village officers and proprietors of land. She heard every complaint in person, and although she continually referred causes to courts of equity and arbitration,

tration, and to her ministers, for settlement, she was always accessible: and so strong was her sense of duty, on all points connected with the distribution of justice, that she is represented as being not only patient, but unwearied, in the investigation of the most insignificant causes, when appeals were made to her decision. Although enquiries have been made among all ranks and classes, nothing has been discovered to diminish the eulogium, or rather blessings, which are poured forth whenever her name is mentioned. The more, indeed, enquiry is pursued, the more admiration is excited: but it appears above all extraordinary, how she had mental and bodily powers to go through with the labours she imposed upon herself, and which, from the age of thirty to sixty, when she died, were unremitted. The hours gained from the affairs of the state, were all given to acts of devotion and charity: and a deep sense of religion appears to have strengthened her mind in the performance of her worldly duties. She used to say that she "deemed herself answerable to God for every exercise of power," and, in the full spirit of a pious and benevolent mind was wont to exclaim, when urged by her ministers to acts of extreme severity, "Let us, mortals, beware how we destroy the works of the Almighty." From a very minute narrative which has been obtained of Ahalya Baee's daily occupations, it appears that she rose one hour before day-break, to say her morning prayers and perform the customary ceremonies. She then heard the sacred volumes of her faith read for a fixed period, distributed alms, and gave food in person to a number of Brahmins. Her own breakfast was then brought, which was always of vegetable diet: for, although the rules of her tribe did not require it, she had forsworn animal food. After breakfast she again went to prayers, and then took a short repose: after rising from which, and dressing herself, she went, about two o'clock,

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to

1802. to her durbar, or court, where she usually remained till six in the evening: and when two or three hours had been devoted to religious exercises and a frugal repast, business recommenced about nine o'clock, and continued till eleven, at which hour she retired to rest. This course of life, marked by prayer, abstinence, and labour, knew little variation, except what was occasioned by religious fasts and festivals (of which she was very observant), and the occurrence of public emergencies.

The territories of the Holkar family continued prosperous until the death of Tukajee, in 1797. He left two sons, Casee Row and Mulhar Row, by his wife, and two natural sons, Jeswunt Row and Etojee Row. The pretensions of Casee Row were prior from birth, but he was of weak intellect, deformed in body, and quite unequal to the active duties of government. Mulhar Row, a brave aspiring youth, commanded the armies, and, in consequence of his father not having favoured his pretensions, he threw himself for support on Nana Furnavese, the celebrated minister of the Peishwa, who promised him his influence. Casee Row, then at Mhysir, sought support from Dowlut Row Scindiah, or rather from his profligate minister Sirjee Row Ghatkia, whose daughter was married to Scindiah. The aid was promised, and on his arrival at Poonah his cause was openly espoused. To prevent the escape of his brother, a reconciliation took place: but, on the night of the day on which it was effected under a sacred oath, the camp of Mulhar Row was surrounded

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rounded by Scindiah's forces. Mulhar Row at daybreak, learning his situation, endeavoured to escape, and mounted his horse: but was killed by a ball, which pierced him in the forehead. The whole of Holkar's troops, about three or four thousand, were dispersed, except a few followers of Casee Row, and their camp plundered. Jeswunt Row, the eldest of the two natural sons, was among the fugitives; he sought protection at Nagpoor: but a belief that he possessed property, or a desire to conciliate the government of Poonah and Scindiah, led Ragojee Bhoonslah, the rajah of Nagpoor, to seize and confine Jeswunt Row. After six months' imprisonment he escaped, but was retaken. He again managed to elude his guard, and escaped to Candeish, accompanied by a Mahomedan soldier, an active and intelligent Hindu of the name of Bhuwanee Shunkur. He was aided by Anund Row, chief of Dhurmpooree, on the Nerbudda, of the family of Puar. Whilst with Anund Row, the latter was attacked by a body of Patans and Pindarries. Jeswunt wrote to the leaders of the Pindarries, desiring them, as adherents of the Holkar family, to withdraw. They fell back; upon which Jeswunt Row sprung from his horse, seized a sponge staff, and a gun that was recovered, turned it upon the assailants, and constrained them to retreat. After extraordinary exertions he effected a junction with Ameer Khan, the Patan leader, in 1798, and plundered some

towns

1802. towns of Dowlut Row Scindiah on the Nerbudda, where he had a sharp contest with a campoo, or brigade of the Chevalier Dudernaic, then in the service of Casee Row, which had been sent from Indore to attack him. Jeswunt Row being victorious, was ultimately joined by the troops of Casee Row, the Chevalier Dudernaic, and Nujeeb Khan. Thus at the close of the year in which he had escaped from Poonah as a fugitive, he became the acknowledged guardian of Kundee Row, the infant and posthumous son of Mulhar Row. He reformed his army: he bestowed the title of nabob on Ameer Khan, who was detached in an eastern direction with a strong corps, to plunder and collect contributions. Saugor, belonging to the Peishwa, after being defended by Venaick Row, was taken by storm: a scene of the most promiscuous and unrestrained pillage followed, and continued almost a month. The city was set fire to on the day of the storm, and the flames raged throughout the whole period. All were ruined; no property was spared; and the last few days were passed in dragging the tanks for supposed treasure. The excesses committed by Ameer Khan's troops were dreadful.

During these extraordinary vicissitudes, Jeswunt Row committed ravages on the territories of Scindiah, which led to contests between those two chiefs, in the course of which Scindiah sent away Casee Row to Mhysir, and offered to give up Kundee Row, the infant son of Mulhar Row, and with him

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him all the Holkar possessions, if Jeswunt Row would cease from farther devastation of his provinces. The latter, however, required the restoration of some of the Holkar provinces which had not been in possession of the family since the time of the first Mulhar Row. This being refused, he carried on his operations on a more extended scale. He sent two Patan chiefs to plunder the territories of Scindiah and the Peishwa in the Deccan, while he marched northward, levying heavy fines as he went. He obliged Zalem Sing, of Kotah, to pay him seven lacs to save his country from desolation. He induced the troops under the Chevalier Dudernaic to abandon that officer and join him; he then moved westward from Tonk to meet a force sent against him by Scindiah. Having learned of the riches at Nath Dora, in Méwar, he made rapid marches, in hopes of relieving the wants of his army, by plundering the treasures and jewels with which the liberal piety of the Hindus had ornamented its shrines. The most dreadful scenes of cruelty and pillage are stated to have marked his advance towards Poonah, in defence of which city Scindiah had sent a force to support the Peishwa. The battle between the combined troops of the Peishwa and Scindiah, opposed to those of Holkar, was fought on the 25th October 1802. Jeswunt Row, after drawing out his army opposite to his enemies, with his cavalry in the rear, dismounted and stood upon an eminence,

Hostilities between Holkar and Scindiah.

1802. nence, to have a clear view of the whole action. His enemies commenced the engagement, and caused some of his cavalry to retreat; whereupon he immediately sprang upon his horse, and addressing a small party of his men, advised all who did not intend to conquer or die, to save themselves, and return to their wives and children, exclaiming, "As for me, I have no intention of surviving this day; if I do not gain the victory, where can I fly?"

His victory was complete, a considerable number of the enemy being killed and wounded. The Patans of Ameer Khan returned to plunder, and had reached the skirts of the city of Poonah, when Jeswunt Row Holkar ordered some guns to play upon them; but as it did not wholly stop them, he galloped, wounded as he was, to the spot, and slew two or three of them with his spear. He displayed great bravery throughout the action. When Ameer Khan, who had not been so distinguished, came to congratulate Jeswunt Row on the happy result of the day, the latter chieftain smilingly remarked, "You have been lucky to escape, brother." "I have, indeed," was the reply, "for see here, the top of my bridle is broken with a cannon ball." "Well, you are a most fortunate fellow, for I observe the shot has touched neither of your horse's ears, though the wounded ornament was betwixt them."

Holkar formed an alliance with Amrut Row, the

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the adopted son of the late Peishwa's father, and therefore called his brother. The Peishwa fled, and was considered by that act to have virtually abdicated. Holkar staid some days, to await the arrival of Amrut Row. He treated the British resident, Colonel Close, with great distinction, but every endeavour to reconcile him to the new government proving unavailing, his passports for Bombay were unwillingly granted.

Peishwa at last makes overtures for a subsidiary treaty.

The Governor-general had ineffectually sought the formation of a subsidiary treaty with the Peishwa. In a letter to the resident, dated in June, his lordship stated that, however desirable such a measure might be, he was of opinion that his highness would never consent until compelled by the exigency of his affairs. That exigency had now arisen; for on the same day that Holkar obtained the victory just alluded to, the Peishwa submitted preliminary propositions for subsidising six native battalions with their proportion of artillery-men, intending, should circumstances render it necessary, to proceed himself for safety to Bassein. Had the proposition of the Governor-general, so repeatedly urged, for forming such an alliance, been accepted by his highness, he would have been spared his humiliating flight, and his capital would not have suffered the miseries inflicted from the inroads of his ungovernable feudatories.

It was supposed (a supposition that had considerable

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siderable weight with the Court of Directors, in reviewing the proceedings at Oude), that the Peishwa withheld his assent to a subsidiary treaty, from having witnessed the Governor-general's arrangements with the Vizier, which had terminated in the alienation of so large a portion of his territorial possessions. But the Peishwa had rejected the proposal more than a year and a-half antecedent to the treaty formed by the Hon. Henry Wellesley, and long before he could by possibility have learned the tenor of the negotiation with the Vizier. If he knew of it previously to its final settlement, it must have been by treachery. These are important facts, as bearing upon the policy adopted by the Governor-general in the midst of events and circumstances connected with interests so widely extended.

Jeswunt Row Holkar desired to obtain possession of the Peishwa's person, and to establish an administration that would secure his own ascendancy, to the exclusion of Scindiah. This plan failing, his next project was to invite Amrut Row to Poonah, Jeswunt Row assuming the general command of the troops. The engagement concluded between the Peishwa and the Resident on the 31st of December 1802, was confirmed by the Governor-general on the 11th of February 1803.

Treaty of Bassein.

By the 17th article, "the union of the two states was so firmly connected that they were to be

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be considered as one, and the Peishwa was not to commence, nor to pursue in future, any negotiations with any other power whatever." It was termed the treaty of Bassein. A subsidiary force of not less than six thousand regular native infantry, with the usual appointment of field-pieces and European artillery, were attached. The Governor-general desired to comprehend the principal branches of the Mahratta empire in the general system of defensive alliance and guarantee, on the basis of the engagements concluded with the Nizam in 1800.

His lordship also felt that the British Government must either persevere in restoring the Peishwa's authority, or abandon all hope of concluding arrangements with the Mahratta states, which were essential to complete the consolidation of the British empire in India, and to secure the future tranquillity of Hindostan.

Communications had passed between a vakeel of Gocklah, the Peishwa's commandant, and Colonel Wellesley. At the same time the Governor-general wrote to General Lake, the commander-in-chief, apprising him that the Madras government had, partly from its own view of circumstances, and partly from the Governor-general's orders, collected a force to aid in the general measures. His lordship exerted every effort to avoid hostilities, and believed that he should not be disappointed in preserving peace; but in the possible

1802. possible event of hostilities, Scindiah's possessions, and the destruction of his power in Hindostan, were the first points to be effected. It was deemed advisable that General Lake should remain with the army in Oude, rather than proceed to the command in Hurryhur, but the option was still left to his excellency. In order to ensure a full and accurate report of events in Nagpore, in connexion with the affairs of the Mahratta empire, Mr. Webbe, then resident at Seringapatam, was removed to Nagpore, Major Malcolm being appointed to Mysore.

Preparations against hostilities with the Peishwa.

Command of the forces in the Deccan confided to General Wellesley.

The force provided by the Madras Government had assembled at Hurryhur. The command of the detachment, which consisted of about eleven thousand men, was confided to General Wellesley, at the particular desire of Lord Clive, who felt that his local knowledge, and the influence he had established, by personal intercourse, with the Mahratta chieftains, peculiarly qualified him to discharge its complicated duties. General Wellesley commenced his movements on the 9th of March, crossing the Tumboodra river on the 12th. The admirable conduct observed by the force under his command during the operations against Doondiah Waugh, had produced so favorable an impression, that it greatly facilitated the present progress of his troops. Holkar moved off towards Ahmednuggur and Chandore. Certain Mahratta sirdars and jaghiredars, including Appah Sahib, the

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the head of the Putwurdan family, and son of Purseram Bhow, with Gocklah the commander in the service of the Peishwa, joined General Wellesley. Intelligence reaching the General that Amrut Row intended to burn Poonah when the British force should approach the city, he made a forced march between the morning and the night of the 19th of April, of sixty miles, having been detained, out of that time, six hours in the Bhore Ghaut. The unexampled celerity of this movement saved the city, which Amrut Row quitted with great precipitation. The state of the Deccan had been so impoverished by the incursion of Holkar, that his army could not have longer subsisted in that quarter; he had not "left a stick standing" within one hundred and fifty miles. The Peishwa met General Wellesley on the 6th May, and on the 13th entered Poonah, where he was reseated on the musnud. The first object of the general was to effect a good understanding between the Peishwa and Amrut Row, who having been induced to promise a separation from the Peishwa's enemies, was presented with the 'zurree putka,' or golden pennon. Differences had arisen between the Putwurdan family and the Rajah of Kolapoor, who had deprived them of a considerable part of their possessions. The feelings of the southern jaghiredars were likewise to be consulted; although every exertion was made by General Wellesley, to induce the Peishwa to act in a manner calcu-

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1802. lated to reconcile these discordant interests, and to come forward and manifest a disposition to support his own power, all proved ineffectual. The jaghiredars were separating, and there was every prospect that the Peishwa's army would shortly be disbanded. His highness saw his own safety in the treaty with the Company, but was incapable of transacting the business with his government; he was jealous of the influence which the Company's authorities had gained over his chiefs, although he knew that he owed to that influence his restoration to power. His disposition was likewise so vindictive, that he could not be brought to pardon those who had injured him, or to whom he had done an injury.

Conduct of Scindiah.

Scindiah and Holkar having evinced an intention to form a confederacy for the purpose of inducing the Peishwa to cede the lands he had acquired in Guzzerat, under the treaty of Bassein, the Governor-general determined to bring Scindiah to a definitive declaration. The chiefs of the Mahratta empire had been accustomed to look at a confederacy of the greater powers among them, as a force which nothing could withstand. They recollected its success against the British Government in former times, and anticipated the same success in the expected contest. Several ineffectual attempts were made on the part of Colonel Collins, the resident at Scindiah's durbar, to learn the intentions of that chief: who replied, that after seeing the

the Rajah of Berar, he would inform the Resident "whether it should be peace or war." The interview having taken place, Colonel Collins pressed for a decision, but without success. In this state of vacillation and uncertainty, the Governor-general resolved to entrust General Wellesley with the conduct of the whole of the affairs, civil and military, in Hindostan and the Deccan, connected with the countries of the Nizam, the Peishwa, and the Mahratta states and chiefs, and with power to decide any question which might arise, or to negotiate and conclude any engagements with Scindiah, Holkar, or the Rajah of Berar.

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The approved abilities, zeal, temper, and judgment of General Wellesley, combined with his extensive local experience, his established influence, and high reputation amongst the Mahratta chiefs and states, and his knowledge of the Governor-general's views, pointed him out as peculiarly fitted to undertake the important and responsible trust. In reply to a letter which Scindiah had written to the Governor-general, he was informed by General Wellesley that Colonel Collins, the resident, had been directed to demand an explanation forthwith; and, at the same time, to apprize him, that arrangements had been made for the most active operations against him and the Rajah of Berar; but on his troops being withdrawn to their usual stations beyond the Nerbuddah, the British force would likewise retire. A communication

1802. communication was at the same time addressed to Holkar, expressing a conviction that he would conduct himself in a manner consonant to his own interests, by continuing in peace with the Company.

The Peishwa, although bound by treaty to bring forward a contingent of sixteen thousand men, sent only three thousand, and these without the means of defraying their pay. Both Scindiah and the Rajah of Berar, professed to have no intention of disturbing the provisions of the treaty of Bassein, but at the same time advanced to the Adjuntee pass, situated immediately upon the Nizam's frontier. There they carried on protracted communications with the resident, which were permitted, in the vain hope of avoiding extremities. Incessant activity and great ability were evinced by General Wellesley, in the promptitude with which he dealt with the several important matters as they arose, keeping up a daily correspondence, which included communications with General Lake in Hindostan, with the governments of Madras and Bombay, with the Mahratta chiefs, and with the residents at the respective courts; and, lastly, making a report of his measures and proceedings to the Governor-general, besides directing all the military arrangements, embracing the disposition of the troops, the supply of the commissariat, and devising plans for meeting the failure of aid which he had been led to expect from other quarters.

Active measures of General Wellesley.

General

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General Wellesley, in the exercise of his plenary powers, issued directions to Colonel Collins, to call upon Scindiah and the Rajah of Berar to retire without delay to Nagpoor; but as Scindiah might plead his inability, on account of the rains, to pass the Taptee and Nerbuddah, he was to proceed to Burhampoor. General Wellesley throughout his correspondence observed an urbanity of style, which had great effect in securing the hearty co-operation of all whose services he called forth. It was of essential advantage in communicating with the natives. His companion in arms, Colonel Stevenson, towards whom the general entertained more than common regard, had written a letter to a chief of some consideration in Scindiah's service, desiring him to withdraw from the Nizam's territories, in which he had made use of an expression not commonly employed in communications to natives of that description. General Wellesley stated, that although the native ought not to have entered the Nizam's country, he could not approve of the expression inadvertently used, and desired Colonel Stevenson to take an opportunity of writing to the native officer to explain it.

As General Wellesley's extensive command included the troops acting in Guzerat, with which country and its localities he was entirely unacquainted, he requested the governor of Bombay would be so kind as to furnish him with returns of

1802 of the strength and equipment of those forces, their distribution, an account of the state of defence of the forts they occupied, and the names of the officers who commanded them; a sketch of the territories of the Guicowar, which it was intended the troops should defend, and any general topographical account of the country from which he might be able to form a judgment, repecting its great communication, as well with the sea-coast as with the countries of the Holkar family and of Scindiah, and with those lately ceded to the Company by the Peishwa. With such documents, he hoped to form a system for the defence of those territories that would tend to their security; and he urged a request, before made by the resident at Poonah, that Colonel Reynolds might be ordered to send him a map of the countries which were or might be the scene of his operations. The advantages derived to the Bombay Government from General Wellesley's advice, on the measures to be adopted for the defence of Guzerat, is apparent from the admirable suggestions he made to the Governor of Bombay on the 2d August 1803. Although he had never visited those countries, the reader will discover the clear and correct perception he formed, from the documents furnished, of the objects to be provided for, including the security of Surat, Kaira, the garrisons for Baroda, Cambay, Kurrah, and eventually Baroach. After considering the disposi-

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tion and distribution of the troops, he adverted to their means of subsistence, discriminating between those required for *defensive* and those for *offensive* measures; the latter being quite different, and of a more extensive nature. He then entered upon the more immediate duties of the officer who would command the force, both in a military point of view, and in his political communications with the resident at Poonah and Baroda, and suggested the importance of keeping on good terms with the Bheels.

In a subsequent letter of the 13th of August, he animadverts upon the inexcusable delay in relieving the wants of the troops at Songhur, which fort presented the only check to an enemy advancing on Surat. His pecuniary arrangements for carrying on the public service were equally marked by a knowledge of the subject, in devising the best means for meeting the pressure of the times.

British resident with Scindiah demands his passports.

To bring matters to a final issue with the Mahratta chiefs, Colonel Collins was instructed to quit Scindiah's camp, upon being satisfied that they determined to retain their positions. He accordingly demanded his passport on the 30th July, and sent off his *pesh-kanah*.* The rain protracted his departure until the 3d of August, when he quitted the camp for Tondapoor. General Wellesley had apprized General Lake on the 22d

July

* The chief manager or agent to a resident.

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July of his intended measures, and the disposition of his forces. The communication from Colonel Collins of the 3d of August reaching General Wellesley on the 6th, he issued immediate orders to the officers in Guzerat to attack Baroach, and not to suffer any attempt at negotiation to interrupt the measure. Colonel Stevenson was at the same time directed to move forward from Aurungabad, and a suggestion was made to the government of Madras, for operations from Ganjam against Cuttack.

General Stuart relinquishes the command to General Wellesley.

General Stuart, the commander-in-chief at Madras, not only detached reinforcements to General Wellesley, but most honourably and disinterestedly relinquished the personal gratification of commanding an army, probably destined to undertake very distinguished services: but he did so in order to continue that important charge in the hands of General Wellesley, who, in his judgment, was the officer best qualified to exercise it with advantage to the public.

General Wellesley attacks Ahmednuggur.

The 8th being the first day the weather permitted, General Wellesley broke ground, having in the morning despatched a messenger to the killedar of the fort of Ahmednuggur, requiring its surrender. On his arrival in the neighbourhood of the pettah,* he offered cowle † to the inhabitants. The pettah being held by a body of Arabs, supported by a battalion of Scindiah's regular

* Suburb, or outworks. † Quarter, protection.

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regular infantry and some horse, who were encamped in an open space between the pettah and the fort, the killedar refused. It was immediately attacked: but being peculiarly well adapted for defence, the resistance was obstinate. After a gallant contest, the British force obtained possession, the Arabs who survived retiring in the night to the northward. On the following day General Wellesley reconnoitred the ground in the neighbourhood of the fort; a battery was erected which opened at daylight on the 10th; its effect induced the killedar to offer to capitulate, but he protracted the negotiation until the evening, during which interval the general refused to cease operations, as they had declined to send hostages to the camp. On the morning of the 12th the enemy, consisting of 1,400 men marched out, and the fort of Ahmednuggur was taken possession of by the British troops. General Wellesley proposed to cross the Godavery river, having framed measures for following up his operations against the enemy, by getting possession of all Scindiah's territories south of that river, depending upon Ahmednuggur, and securing resources for his army. Captain Graham, who was appointed collector of the districts around Ahmednuggur, was cautioned by General Wellesley to bear in mind, that to preserve the country in a state of tranquillity, and to secure for the use of the troops under his command resources

Ahmednuggur surrenders

and

1802. and a free communication through it to Poonah and Bombay, were objects of far greater importance than to collect a large revenue from it.

I wish you therefore to refrain from pressing the country with a view to raising the collections as high as they can go. You will correspond with me, in the performance of the duties now entrusted to you.

Having inspected the fort, the quantity of stores that were found was astonishing, and the powder so good, that as much was replaced from the magazines as had been consumed in the siege. A treaty was agreed to with Amrut Row, who was to join General Wellesley within nineteen days from the 16th of August.

Operations in Bengal under General Lake.

General Lake, under the tenour of the communications made to him in January, remained in Bengal, where his presence was deemed of greater importance than in Mysore. The Governor-general had expressed an opinion, that the force at Hurryhur would not be called upon to act defensively or offensively, but should hostilities arise, they would, in all probability, take place against Scindiah, when an attack on his possessions in Hindostan would follow; but it was his lordship's earnest desire and belief that Scindiah would be brought to terms, although he had felt it right to take measures for assembling a force to act in case of necessity. His lordship suggested Cawnpore and Futtyghur as the stations at which the troops should be collected, and in furtherance of these

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these objects observed, that the collectors and magistrates must be taught to co-operate in the system essential for the maintenance of a distinction between the civil and military power, in the administration of the ceded districts, and to abstain from the uncontrolled use of the regular troops. Circular orders were accordingly issued, calling upon the servants to co-operate on these reasonable terms. In the event of hostilities, the chief objects were:

Objects of campaign.

1. To seize all Scindiah's possessions between the Ganges and the Jumna.

2. To take the person of the Mogul, Shah Aulum, under British protection.

3. To form alliances with the Rajpoots and other inferior states beyond the Jumna, for the purpose of excluding Scindiah from the northern districts of Hindostan.

4. To occupy Bundlecund, and thus to strengthen the portion of the provinces of Benares against Scindiah or the Rajah of Berar.

The Governor-general then prescribed the course of operations, in which he evinced a thorough and comprehensive knowledge of the several states, and the influence to be established in connexion with them. General Lake was apprized by the Governor-general of the communication from Colonel Collins of the 12th June, regarding Scindiah's declaration whether it should be peace or war, and of his lordship's opinion that Scindiah's object was

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to gain time, he added, "ours must be to act between this time and the month of October. The seizure of Agra would be a great and masterly blow." A paper was at this time submitted to the Governor-general by Mr. Barlow, in support of his lordship's measures towards the Peishwa and the Mahrattas; he observed, "it was impossible to conjecture to what length their presumptuous characters might lead them, if permitted to usurp the Poonah government, and expressed an entire conviction of the justice, wisdom, and policy which his excellency had pursued with regard to the Mahratta empire; its justice and wisdom being more strongly impressed upon his mind, in proportion as he considered it in all its relations."

Mr. Barlow's views as to the course of policy to be pursued.

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The Governor-general received, on the 17th March 1803, a communication from the Secret Committee, which caused him much apprehension. Notwithstanding the belligerent state of Europe, and the unsettled condition of India, France also being in possession of the Mauritius, a confident expectation was expressed that measures for the reduction of the India debt would be followed up. His lordship was led to make the following remarks, in a letter to Lord Castlereagh:

The actual condition of the Mahratta powers connected with the views of France, and the constitution of some branches of Scindiah's military establishment, will require the most vigilant and extensive state of military preparation. My apprehensions of the approaching crisis would be much more serious,

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serious, if I were not confident that your lordship will oppose the generosity, vigour, and firmness of your mind, to the progress of any system of compromise between the conflicting characters of merchant and sovereign, which compose the constitution of the East-India Company. While that Company shall represent the sovereign executive authority of the realm in so great, populous, and flourishing a portion of the British empire, its duties of sovereignty must be deemed paramount to its mercantile interests, prejudices, and profits. The most indispensable duty of the sovereign executive government in India is therefore the maintenance of the military power, without which no security can exist for the mercantile or financial interests of the Company, or even for the tranquillity and welfare of our Indian subjects.

Affairs in Hindostan.

The north-western frontier of Hindostan presented the most vulnerable point of the Company's extensive empire. The condition of the Seiks was at this time trifling, Runjeet Sing not being able to assemble four thousand troops, whilst that of the Rajpoots and other petty states offered considerable advantage to an invading army, from the more northern countries of India. The enterprising spirit of France, or the ambition of Russia, might have produced effects little contemplated. Scindiah had a considerable force of regular infantry, commanded by European officers, supported by funds derived from his possessions between the Jumna, the Ganges, and the mountains of Kemaoon, most of which territory had been assigned to M. Perron. The Governor-general was convinced that no time should be lost in endeavouring to reduce the French power

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Plenary powers given to General Lake.

power and influence in Hindostan. General Lake was accordingly invested with full power and authority to conclude agreements with the Mahrattas, with M. Perron, or any of Scindiah's European or native officers, and with the Rajpoot princes, with the view of promoting the alliance that had been concluded with the Peishwa by the treaty of Bassein. Mr. Mercer was appointed the governor-general's agent to negotiate with the Bundelah chiefs Gunnee Behauder, Himbut Behauder, and Shumshere Behauder, or any others in Bundlecund; also with the Rajah of Gohud and the Begum Sumroo. The latter power presented a most extraordinary instance of the erection of a native petty state on the ruins of the Mogul empire. The Begum was the widow of Sumroo, a renegade French soldier, and the instrument of Cossim in murdering the English at Patna in 1763.* He purchased his wife, then a dancing girl. He successively served the Vizier and the Rajahs of Bhurtpore and Jeypoor, and ultimately became chief of Sirdhuna. He died in 1776. His widow, the Begum, entertained in her employ an Irish adventurer, George Thomas, who had absconded from some ship, and was first employed at Hydrabad, and then in her service, which he quitted, and became himself a considerable chief at Hansi. The Rajah of Putteeala and the Rajah Runjeet Sing, were then described as petty Seik chieftains, but possessing considerable

The Begum Sumroo.

* *Vide* vol. i. page 89.

siderable influence were to be secured to the British interests. Instructions were likewise sent to Lieut.-colonel Campbell for operations against Cuttack, a measure which General Wellesley had recommended to the Madras government. He was to proceed directly to Juggernaut, and to observe every respect for the religious prejudices of the Brahmins and pilgrims; treating them with consideration and kindness. If necessary, an assurance was to be given to the Brahmins that it was not intended to disturb the actual system of collections at the pagoda. In this instance Marquis Wellesley evinced his usual judgment and caution, by directing Colonel Campbell carefully to abstain from contracting any engagement with the Brahmins, for limiting the power of the British Government to make such arrangements with respect to the pagoda, or to introduce such a reform of existing abuses and vexations as might be deemed advisable, at a future period.

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Operations against Cuttack.

Juggernaut.

General Lake commenced operations by attacking M. Perron's force before the fort of Allyghur, on the 29th August, and after a brief encounter compelled him to retire towards Agra, leaving behind Colonel Pedron in command of the fort. The town of Coel was taken possession of by the troops, who had undergone great fatigue, and suffered intensely from the heat, the thermometer being upwards of 100° in the tents. To avoid a needless effusion of blood, General Lake desired to obtain possession of

1802. of Allyghur through negotiation, as the place was very strong, and he had reason to believe the enemy would come to terms. This expectation proving fruitless, he determined to carry it by assault. The attack was led by the Hon. Lieut.-colonel Monson, Colonel Horsford, of the Company's Artillery, covering the advance. The defence was most obstinate, Colonel Monson and Colonel Brown, of the Native Infantry, being severely wounded, the former dangerously : but complete success crowned the operations, which had been much promoted through the aid of a Mr. Lucan, an Englishman, who quitted Scindiah's service to avoid fighting against his own countrymen. He very gallantly led Colonel Monson to the gate, and pointed out the road through the fort, for which that officer expressed himself infinitely indebted.

Capture of Allyghur by General Lake.

General Wellesley considered the capture of Allyghur one of the most extraordinary feats he had heard of in India. He had never attacked a fort that he did not attempt the same thing, *viz.* blowing open the gates, but never succeeded: he had, therefore, always taken them by escalade, which in the present instance appeared to be impossible. The little fort of Kainga was evacuated by the enemy on the 8th. General Lake then advanced on Delhi, where he arrived on the 11th of September, after a march of eighteen miles, and learned with satisfaction that the enemy in great

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great force had crossed the Jumna, under the command of M. Louis, with the intention of offering him battle. The general had scarcely encamped when his outposts were attacked by M. Louis, whose army was drawn up in fighting order. General Lake immediately brought out his whole line, and attacked the enemy in front, who opened a tremendous fire from a numerous and well-served artillery; but the British army advanced under a heavy cannonade, and charged them within a distance of a hundred yards, which caused a precipitate retreat. The army had been under arms from three in the morning until half-past seven in the evening, when the engagement closed. The city and fort of Delhi were evacuated by the enemy: M. Louis fled with some of the Seiks who were with him, and a strong desire was expressed by the Mogul for the march of the British troops to Delhi. General Lake anticipated the surrender of the fort of Hansi, lately in the possession of George Thomas.* Ferozabad was taken possession of by Colonel Macan on the 9th. Six French officers delivered themselves up as prisoners of war on the 15th; on the 17th General Lake was received by the Mogul at his palace in the fort, to which he was conducted by Akber Shah, his majesty's eldest son. The Mogul and the whole court were unanimous in testifying the

Battle of Delhi.

Interview between the Mogul and General Lake.

* *Vide* page 304.

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1802. the joy which they experienced at the change that had taken place.

The immense tract of country conquered by these operations led General Lake to engage some sirdars, lately in the service of M. Perron, two of whom were of high character and to be depended upon. The rapidity of the marches, and loss in action, had considerably reduced the force with the general, who urged the Governor-general to proceed to the upper provinces, in order to satisfy his mind as to the force required ; at the same time pointing out the necessity of an increase in European cavalry and in King's troops, as but little dependence was to be placed on the Sebundy corps.* The army was in high spirits : their good-humour, patience, and readiness to obey orders "was delightful, and caused the greatest confidence." Of Lieut.-colonel Ochterlony† the general spoke in the highest terms, and expressed a deep sense of the loss he should experience, on being obliged to leave him in the confidential situation of resident with the King at Delhi.

The Governor-general had been apprized by Lord Castlereagh, on the 14th of November, that no time would be lost in nominating a successor to Lord Clive in the government of Madras. On the 17th of that month the Court of Directors appointed the Right Hon. Lord William Cavendish Bentinck governor

Lord William Bentinck appointed Governor of Madras.

* An irregular native soldier employed in the service of the revenue and police.

† The late Major-general Sir David Ochterlony.

governor of Fort St. George. His lordship embarked in the March following.

1802.

Lord Clive addresses the Court of Directors.

Lord Clive deemed it necessary, in vindication of his administration, to address the Court, entering into a full review of the various measures that had been effected during his government, and contended that the stability of the Company had been greatly promoted, their possessions largely and beneficially extended, and the welfare of the natives advanced by the introduction of sound principles of government. His lordship then deprecated, in the strongest manner, the course which had been adopted towards him by the Court of Directors, who by their orders had superseded measures, calculated for the purity and integrity of the British administration. Emulation had been suppressed, and the energy of meritorious men, who, in the consciousness of their virtue, looked for reward, was damped by the attention of the idle and the dissolute being directed to an authority superior to that of the government. His lordship dwelt particularly upon the valuable revenue services rendered by Colonel Read in Salem and the Baramahal, and by Mr. Lushington† in the district of Ramnad. Lord Clive appeared to have given a most zealous support to those measures he believed essential to the best interests of the Company and to their government abroad, and to have evinced

* The present Right Hon. S. R. Lushington, M.P., late governor of Madras.

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evinced on all occasions a high and honourable feeling in the discharge of his public duties. It was not, therefore, unnatural, that he should experience mortification at acts, which affected the exercise of his authority, and the interests of those whose services formed the only claim to his lordship's support. If, in giving expression to these feelings, his lordship exceeded the bounds which, upon a calm consideration of the position in which he stood towards the authority from whom he received his appointment would have prescribed, an apology was to be found in the anomalous and fluctuating composition of such authority, which was subject to impressions from various causes, to which no other body exercising sovereign power was liable.

1803.
Lord William Bentinck's arrival at Madras, and letter in reply to the communication from the Governor-general.

The Governor-general deputed Colonel Houghton, an officer belonging to his lordship's family, to Madras on the 1st August, for the purpose of assuring Lord William Bentinck of his desire to render the most cordial assistance, in the discharge of the duties of the difficult and important trust committed to him; and expressed the satisfaction which he should derive from a personal interview. Lord William Bentinck did not reach Madras until the 30th August. His lordship acknowledged the Governor-general's communication on the 9th September, and observed:

The divided state of the Madras Government, and the opposition and counteraction which my noble predecessors received

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received, are circumstances much to be lamented; they tend to destroy all the vigour and efficiency so imperiously requisite in the management of this great, unsettled territory.

The only system of conduct which can oppose itself with success to such attacks, must be founded upon a steady and determined resolution to do what is right, uninfluenced by party or prejudice, careless and fearless of the event. From the moment I cannot retain my situation consistently with my own honour, character, and comfort, I will resign it.

At this time the Governor-general received from Lord Castlereagh the announcement of hostilities with France. The principles of finance determined upon by Ministers (who were strongly supported), were to declare at once the burthen a state of war would call upon the people to sustain; *viz.* ten millions a year additional taxes, for a term of eight years' duration.

It must at first be felt by the country as a severe blister, and they will smart under it; but when they have experienced and known the worst, they may then look their difficulties in the face with confidence, and are likely to exhibit a more resolute temper than could be hoped for under the annual irritation of new taxes.

Lord Castlereagh wrote, that—

In looking to the state of India, he felt full confidence, under the care of the Governor-general; every day affording him fresh proofs of the vigour and wisdom of his councils; and, in proportion as he acquired information on the Governor-general's policy, the more deeply he was impressed with the value and extent of his lordship's services.

Operations against French interests.

The Governor-general was to take the necessary steps for capturing the French ships and forts, and

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and for preserving and completely protecting the trade and dominions of the Company.

The change in the political state of Europe, France having taken possession of Holland, was necessarily felt in India, by the unavoidable expenses it entailed, as well as the stop it put to the measures of reduction which had been contemplated by the Governor-general.

Juggernaut taken.

Operations in the Deccan.

The operations in Cuttack were proceeding most satisfactorily. Juggernaut was taken possession of on the 18th September. The forces in the Deccan, under General Wellesley, were acquiring fresh distinction. The enemy had been joined, between the 8th and 18th of September, by the infantry under Colonel Pohlman, by that belonging to the Begum Sumroo,* and by another brigade of infantry under M. Dupont. Their army was collected between Bokerdun and Jaffeerbad On the 20th General Wellesley moved towards them. On the 23d he arrived at Naulniah, where he learned that Scindiah and the Rajah of Berar had moved off, and were in camp about six miles distant: he accordingly determined at once to proceed against them. The whole of the combined army was discovered on the bank of the Kaitna river. Their right consisted entirely of cavalry, and extended from Bokerdun to their corps of infantry near Assaye. Although General Wellesley came, first, in front of their right, he determined to

Battle of Assaye, under General Wellesley.

* *Vide* page 304.

to attack their left, as the defeat of their infantry was most likely to be effectual. He accordingly marched round to their left flank, covering the movement of the column of infantry by the British cavalry in the rear, and by the Mahratta and Mysore cavalry on the right flank. Having passed the Kaitna, and the enemy having changed the position of their infantry, General Wellesley immediately attacked them, "advancing under a very hot fire from the cannon, the execution of which was terrible." Lieut.-colonel Maxwell charged a large body of the enemy's infantry, and fell in the operation. "The victory was complete, but had cost dear."

1803.

I cannot, (observed the general,) write in too strong terms of the conduct of the troops; they advanced in the best order, and with the greatest steadiness, under a most destructive fire, against a body of infantry far superior in number, who appeared determined to contend with them to the last, and who were driven from their guns only by the bayonet; and, notwithstanding the number of the enemy's cavalry, and the repeated demonstrations they made of an intention to charge, they were kept at a distance by our infantry.

General Wellesley, and every officer of the staff, had horses shot under them. The enemy moved off to the Adjuntee pass, and from thence towards Burhampoor, to the north of the river Tapty. As the enemy had several brigades undefeated, General Wellesley doubted the propriety of the expedition into Berar by one of the divisions only.

1803.

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only. The enemy's infantry was the best he had ever seen in India, excepting our own, and they and their equipment far surpassed Tippoo's.

I assure you that their fire was so heavy, I much doubted at the time whether I should be able to prevail upon our troops to advance, and all agree that the battle was the fiercest that has ever been seen in India; our troops behaved admirably, the Sepoys astonished me.*

General Wellesley's movements.

In the beginning of October, General Wellesley "made a dash down" towards Phoolmurry, sixteen miles north of Arungabad, upon a defensive principle, the enemy, with all their horse and some infantry and guns, drawn out of Burhampore, having threatened to pass to the southward, by the Casserbury Ghaut. "But it is only a threat, and I believe I have stopped them already." In the midst of these calls for exertion, General Wellesley evinced his interest for a young writer, the son of Admiral Pakenham, who had reached Calcutta; writing to a friend who was to take charge of him, "do not let him be idle, urge him to learn the country languages, and do not let him run in debt." More sound advice could not well be comprised in fewer words. When in camp at the Adjuntee pass, he remarked:

If our allies were in any degree of strength, a movement of our whole force upon Asseerghur, and then upon Gawilghur and Nagpoor, would put an end to the war; but, under present circumstances, I must be satisfied with something less brilliant.

Notwith-

* Letter to Major Malcolm.

1803.
Imbecility of the Nizam.

Notwithstanding these exertions were made to maintain the authority of the Nizam against the Mahrattas, his highness seemed wholly insensible to the support he received. Since the battle of Assaye, the general stated that he had been like a man who fights with one hand and defends himself with another. With Colonel Stevenson's force he had acted offensively, and taken Asseerghur; and with his own he had covered the territories of the Nizam and the Peishwa, in the course of which service he had made "some terrible" marches. Celerity of movement was everything; and, acting upon the defensive or offensive, with either corps, according to their situation and the position of the enemy. When a force was up to its work, it was in other words described, "in style." Alluding to the measures pursued by the Bombay government, the general observed, what a pity it is we have not Guzerat "in style." To Major Malcolm he remarked:

The Rajah, the Minister, and the Resident at Baroda, have guards so exceedingly strong as to run away with the whole garrison; and each have more than half their guards running after them on foot when they go out, whether in palanquin or on horseback. All respect for the troops used in this manner must be at an end, and the troops lose all respect for themselves. "Purneah* never has a Sepoy, excepting perhaps an orderly from the commandant; and as for the Rajah of Mysore, he has one company of native infantry, who do the duty of Seringapatam and the Rajah's palace.

* The celebrated and efficient Dewan to the Rajah of Mysore.

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palace. To remedy this is a more difficult negotiation than you have ever had in your diplomatic career."

General Wellesley on conduct of official matters.

It having been customary to send in bills upon honour for payments on account of the commanding officer, General Wellesley suggested, in a letter to the secretary at Bombay, that the bills on honour ought not to be multiplied; but that the expenses of the military should be brought under proper heads of account, and a distinct mode devised for supplying every thing for which there was a regular demand. A bill upon honour ought never to be admitted, except for extraordinary or unforeseen service, for which no previous provision could have been made. Alluding to the revenue arrangements of Colonel Murray in Guzerat, he remarked they were quite ridiculous, and ought never to have been made, or have occupied his attention for a moment. That officer having involved himself in a dispute with the paymaster and military auditor at Bombay, General Wellesley remarked:

There were two parties at Bombay, the civil and military; and of the latter, two parties, King's and Company's; the disputes of the two being the sole business of every man under the government at Bombay. If this goes to Mr. Duncan, I shall be burned in effigy at that presidency.

Asseerghur had been reconnoitred by Colonel Stevenson on the 18th of October, when he sent in a flag of truce: but receiving no decided answer, the operations were not relaxed, as the indecision was only to gain time to admit of Scindiah coming

up

up to its relief. Before the batteries were opened Colonel Stevenson informed the killedar of the terms that would be granted: after an hour's firing, a white flag was shown on the walls of the fort, which was delivered up the following morning.

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Asseerghur surrenders.

On the 11th of November a Mahratta of some rank, from Scindiah, waited upon General Wellesley, for the purpose of entering upon a pacific negotiation. It appeared that he had not powers to conclude any agreement; but, in anticipation that he might subsequently be accredited by Scindiah, General Wellesley communicated to the Governor-general the terms on which he should treat for peace. An armistice was concluded with the natives Jeswunt Row Goorparrah and Naroo Punt Nana, as accredited vakeels from Scindiah, for a cessation of hostilities in the Deccan and Guzerat; it being agreed that Scindiah was to march with his army and take up a position twenty coss* eastward of Ellichpoor, and to forage still further eastward: the distance of twenty coss to be always preserved between his forces and those of the British and allied armies. The vakeels wished the cessation to extend to Hindostan, but to this General Wellesley would not assent. He then stated his reasons for effecting this armistice. Some suggestions made by Major Malcolm on the terms were in part adopted, the whole being referred

Armistice with Scindiah.

* A corrupt term used by Europeans to denote a road measure of about *two miles*.

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referred to the Governor-general, accompanied by full explanations.

Conferences with Scindiah.

Conferences were carried on: Scindiah's troops had not complied with the terms of the armistice, but the vakeels trusted that the general would not attack them; the latter, however, stated that he should attack the enemies of the Company wherever he met them. A junction having been fortunately effected with Colonel Stevenson on the 28th, the army had advanced, after a march of great length on a very hot day, to Paterley, when the enemy were descried encamped at Argaum. Although late in the day, General Wellesley determined to march against them. At the first movement the Native Infantry got into confusion; three battalions, who behaved so admirably in the battle of Assaye, being broke and running off when the cannonade commenced at Argaum, which was not to be compared to that of Assaye. General Wellesley was fortunately at no great distance, and was able to rally and re-establish them. The joint forces of the enemy were completely routed; thirty-eight pieces of cannon and all their ammunition taken; they were pursued by the cavalry, who destroyed great numbers: there was not sufficient light to enable the general to do all that he wished, but the cavalry continued the pursuit by moonlight, all the troops being under arms till a late hour in the night. General Wellesley had himself been on horseback from six in the morning

Battle of Argaum, under General Wellesley.

1803.

morning till twelve at night. Notwithstanding these great exertions on the part of General Wellesley and his troops, the army advanced on the following day towards Gawilghur. A vakeel came in from the Rajah of Berar to the British camp at Akose on the 2d of December.

The powers possessed by the vakeels from Scindiah proving insufficient, the general determined to send them away unless they could produce credentials in a more perfect form. "Every Mahratta is so haughty, and so prone to delay, that I suspect both Scindiah and Ragojee Bhoonslah will be ruined, rather than submit to the conditions I must require from them."

Affairs in Guzerat.

The operations in Guzerat, from want of judgment and discretion on the part of the leading authorities in that quarter, were carried on in a very unsatisfactory way. Frequent appeals were made to General Wellesley, involving personal considerations, in addition to the annoyance it occasioned by interfering with the general measures framed to produce one common result.

A complaint was made of want of power to check misconduct; the general replied, "If my Mahratta allies did not know that I should hang any one that might be found plundering, not only I should have starved long ago, but most probably my own coat would have been taken off my back."

To a representation of misconduct on the part of some of the military at Surat, he observed, "Measures

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"Measures might and ought to have been taken, by the commanding officer, to put an end to these disgraceful proceedings, which it appears he has entirely neglected." Colonel Murray having addressed a letter couched in disrespectful terms to Major-general Nicolls at Bombay, General Wellesley wrote to the secretary:

General Wellesley to Bombay Government.

It must rest with Government to take such measures as may be thought necessary to vindicate its own dignity and authority, I cannot presume to suggest any thing to such a case; and I have only to add, that I will submit with cheerfulness, and carry into execution, as far as lies in my power, whatever may be ordered upon this unfortunate occurrence.

In conducting the extensive duties with which I am charged, it has been my constant wish to conform to existing rules and establishments, and to introduce no innovations, so that at the conclusion of the war, when my duties would cease, every thing might go on in its accustomed channel. Whenever the hon. Governor in Council may think proper to call for my opinion upon any subject, I will give it him to the best of my judgment and abilities; but I hope that he will not desire me to enter into the *detail* of Guzerat affairs, which I cannot be supposed to comprehend, and with which I am convinced it was never intended I should be charged.

At the same moment that General Wellesley's mind was thus pressed upon with the feuds and differences under the government of Bombay, he had to decide as to dealing with rebellious but less powerful feudatories of the Peishwa. A native Baba Phurkiah came in on cowle with four thousand horse, to entreat the general's interference

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ference with the Peishwa in his favour. He was desired to remove from the Nizam's territories into those of the Rajah of Berar, beyond the Wurdah.

The general refused to receive Cashee Rao in his camp, because he was not only useless, but his reception might create uneasiness in Holkar's mind, and thereby increase the number of enemies to the British Government. The same objections were felt to his reception by the Peishwa. In the midst of a few moments' leisure, in forming his arrangements for storming the fort of Gawilghur, he transmitted to the Resident at Poonah a long paper from Amrut Rao, detailing the history of the—

Rascally intrigues of himself and the Peishwa, rather than any real ground of dispute.

There were two modes of dealing with him—one by raising a force to attack and subdue him, the other to pardon him; and if he would not accept pardon, to draw off his adherents by conciliation; and, at all events, to avoid every act of oppression on their families and servants:—

General Wellesley complains of want of information.

But the principle of the Poonah government was revenge; the gratification of that detestable passion, and nothing else, has been listened to. The day I hope is not far distant when I shall be able to resign my charge in this country, and when the Peishwa will have to settle his countries; but there is not a soul in his government capable of giving a line of information, upon any one point concerning the administration of the extensive territories, the government of which is in his hands! Not less than fifty times

1803. times I have pressed the fellow he has here by way of vakeel, to urge the government to send into Candeish proper persons to take possession of his highness's rich districts in that province, which, the Nizam's officers have told me, are going to ruin for want of a person to manage them.

Siege of Gawilghur.

This is but an outline of the numerous points which engaged General Wellesley in the midst of his preparations for storming Gawilghur, a strong fort situated in the range of mountains between the sources of the rivers Poorna and Tapty. It stood on a lofty mountain in that range, and consisted of one complete inner fort, fronting the south, where the rock was most steep, and an outer fort, which covered the inner to the west and north. This fort had a third wall, which covered the approach to it from the north by the village of Labada: all the walls being strongly built, and fortified by ramparts and towers. From the day on which Colonel Stevenson broke ground, near Labada, the troops in his division went through a series of laborious services, "such," observed the general, "as I never before witnessed, with the utmost cheerfulness and perseverance." The heavy ordnance and stores were dragged by hand over mountains and through ravines for nearly the whole distance, by roads which it had been previously necessary to make for themselves.

We have been accustomed to read with wonder the

1803.
Exertions of troops.

the surprising efforts made by Napoleon and his troops in their campaigns when advancing towards Italy; but, whilst the astonishment caused by contemplating such persevering exertions is by no means lessened, feelings of equal, if not of increased surprise are created, when we reflect that the efforts of which we are now speaking were made by Europeans in an eastern climate, and by natives whose bodily strength and moral courage were far inferior; in the face, too, of an enemy sometimes strongly entrenched, and during heat so excessive, as to render the fatigue of such labour almost insupportable. These are some of the unheeded toils and exertions by which our empire has been acquired, and from whence such wealth has been derived.

The defence of the fort of Gawilghur was most resolute, the garrison being numerous, and consisting of Rajpoots commanded by Beny Sing himself, who had escaped from Argaum. They were all well armed, with the Company's new muskets and bayonets. Vast numbers were killed, particularly at the different gates. Beny Sing was found amidst the slain, having determined to defend his trust to the last extremity. They had resolved to put their families to death, in order to save their wives and daughters from disgrace. Twelve or fourteen women were found, some of whom having been ineffectually stabbed, were still bleeding, whilst three were actually dead.

 On

1803.
Peace with Berar.

On the 17th December a treaty of peace was concluded with Ragojee Bhoonslah, the rajah of Berar. He ceded to the Company and their allies the province of Cuttack, including the fort and district of Balasore; also all the territories of which he had collected the revenues in participation with the soubahdar of the Deccan, and those he possessed to the westward of the Wurdah. The frontier of the Rajah of Berar was to be formed to the west by the Wurdah, from its issue from the Injardy hills to its junction with the Godavery, and he was to have the hills on which the forts of Nernullah and Gawilghur were situated. Every thing south of those hills, and to the west of the Wurdah, was to belong to the British Government and their allies.

General Wellesley appoints Hon. M. Elphinstone to Berar.

General Wellesley proposed sending the Honourable Mountstuart Elphinstone to act with the Rajah until the arrival of Mr. Webbe at Nagpoor. Mr. Elphinstone had rendered the greatest assistance to the general; he was well versed in the languages, and had experience and knowledge of the interest of the Mahratta powers and their relations with each other, and with the British Government and its allies. He had been present in all the actions fought in that quarter during the war, and at all the sieges; he was acquainted with every transaction that had taken place, and with General Wellesley's sentiments upon all subjects: the general therefore recommended him

to

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to the Governor-general. Such was the testimony borne by so competent a judge to the merits of that distinguished servant of the East-India Company.

Curious interview between the vakeel of the Nizam and General Wellesley.

A communication being made by the general to Rajah Mohiput Ram, the vakeel or resident in camp from the Nizam, of the measures requisite for taking possession of certain territory to be ceded to his master, Mohiput Ram was anxious to ascertain what particular countries and districts they were likely to be. General Wellesley declined giving the information, whereupon Mohiput Ram offered him seven lacs of rupees for it: the general replied, by asking him, "Can you keep a secret?"—"Yes," said Mohiput Ram; "And so can I," answered the general. The tappal, or messenger, who was sent with the intelligence to Hydrabad, was stated to have been way-laid and murdered, at the instance, it was assumed, of the vakeel, to effect his object of obtaining the information.

The ratification of the treaty by the Rajah of Berar was received by General Wellesley on the 23d. Notice had been given to the vakeels of Scindiah, that the agreement of the 23d November for the suspension of hostilities, would cease on the 27th December. On the 30th, a treaty of peace was concluded with Scindiah's vakeels at Surjee Anjengaum, by which that chief ceded to the Company and their allies in perpetual sovereignty, all

Peace of Surjee Anjengaum.

1803. all his forts, territories, and rights in the Dooab, or country situated between the Jumna and the Ganges, and all his forts, territories, rights, and interests, in the countries to the northward of those of the Rajahs of Jeypoor and Joudpoor, and of the Ranah of Gohud; the forts of Baroach and Ahmednuggur, and the territory depending upon each, excepting certain lands and villages held in enam.* He also ceded all the territories which belonged to him previously to the breaking out of the war, situated to the southward of the Adjuntee hills, including the fort and district of Julnahpoor; the fort of Asseerghur, the town of Burhampoor, the forts of Powangur and Dohud. The territories in Candeish and Guzerat depending on those forts, were to be restored to Scindiah. He was to hold in enam the lands of Dhoolpoor Baree and Rajah Kernah. The sum of seventeen lacs of rupees, or lands equal, were to be set apart by the Company to pay pensions or grants, &c. The treaties made by the British Government with those Rajahs who had been his feudatories were to be confirmed, but the revenues collected from lands southward of those of the Rajahs of Jeypoor, Joudpoor, and the Ranah of Gohud, were granted away. The Company were to arbitrate as to the claims of the Peishwa and Scindiah regarding lands in Malwa. Scindiah relinquished all claims on the king, Shah Alum, and agreed never to take or retain in his service any Frenchman,

* Grants of land free of rent.

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Frenchman, or the subject of any other European or American power, the government of which might be at war with the British Government, or any British subject, whether European or native of India, without the consent of the British Government; and accredited ministers were to reside at each court.

Close of affairs in the Deccan.

Such was the conclusion of the operations and negotiations by General Wellesley in the Deccan, at the close of the year 1803.

Bengal. Agra taken.

In Bengal, General Lake, on the 10th October, was before the fort of Agra: but a force of seven battalions of the enemy being in possession of the town, he felt it necessary to dislodge them, and to occupy the ravines which would answer as trenches, and afford a complete covering for carrying on the works. The town was taken possession of after a severe conflict, in which a number of officers and men were killed and wounded. Having ascertained that seventeen battalions had come from the Deccan to the relief of Scindiah's forces in Hindostan, General Lake determined to drive the enemy from their strongholds in the garrison, which was not effected without much loss, the enemy having contended most desperately, the troops being supposed the best that M. Perron had with him; a circumstance which led General Lake to lay considerable stress on the necessity of having always a due proportion

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proportion of European troops in India. The exposure of the European officers of the native corps, which was so essential to render those troops efficient in battle, had caused great loss; but, without their spirited and gallant exertions, "we had not been where we are."

Encouragement given by the Governor-general

The Governor-general, who watched with anxious solicitude the progress of these events in the Deccan, in Guzerat, and in Hindostan, did ample justice to the zeal, gallantry, and devotion, exhibited by the respective generals and their armies; every encouragement was held out, and every mode of applause was extended, that could possibly be bestowed by the supreme authorities. The fullest confidence was reposed by the Governor-general in the distinguished officers whom he had entrusted with such extensive powers; their unexampled efforts, in overcoming all obstacles, and establishing on every occasion the superiority and energy of the British arms, amply repaid the confidence they enjoyed. General Lake, under the authority given him by the Governor-general, raised two regiments, observing,

> You cannot conceive what a tract of country at this moment lies exposed to the invasion of any enterprising freebooter.

Bundlecund.

Lieut.-colonel Powell had entered Bundlecund, crossing the Jumna in September, and established the British authority between that and the river Kane. Shumshur Behauder's troops, at the instigation

1803.

gation of his sirdars, advanced to the opposite banks of the Kane. Colonel Powell crossed with the troops of Himmut Bahauder a few days afterwards. Shumshur Behauder appearing determined to risk an action, Colonel Powell advanced, when a cannonade was commenced by mistake at too early a period in the action, which prevented the effect intended by the commanding officer. The province was evacuated by Shumshur Behauder, who, having crossed the river Betwah, afterwards surrendered, on terms of a provision for his support. Bundlecund was subsequently brought under British rule, after lengthened military operations. Baroach, under Colonel Woodington, was captured on the 29th of August; on the 14th of Octo ber, the fort of Barabutty, in Cuttack, was taken by assault, under Lieut.-colonel Clayton.

Agra, termed by the natives "the key of Hindostan," capitulated on the 17th October; the garrison, consisting of six thousand men, marched out at noon on the 18th, Brigadier-general McDonald occupying the fort. Its early surrender was attributed to the impression made by the breaching batteries, which opened within three hundred and fifty yards under Colonel Horsford. General Lake considered its early acquisition most important, in saving many lives that must have been sacrificed, as the garrison was composed of a most desperate caste of men, and the passages of the fort were very intricate.

The

1803. The Governor-general, in acknowledging this success in a letter to General Lake, observed,

You must excuse this delay of my official despatches, when you reflect I am compelled to look all around India.

General Lake marched fromAgra on the 27th of October in pursuit of the Mahratta force, and on the 31st encamped at Laswarree, a short distance from the ground the enemy had quitted the same morning. On being apprized of this circumstance, he determined to make an effort with his army to overtake the enemy, with the intention of detaining him until the infantry should come up. The march of the cavalry was made at twelve at night. They performed a distance of forty-four miles in twelve hours, and came up with the enemy at day-break. This sudden approach induced the general to venture on an attack with his cavalry alone, supported by mounted artillery; the enemy availed himself of a most advantageous post before General Lake had discovered the alteration of his position, owing to the quantities of dust which wholly obscured him from sight. The advanced guard of the front brigade, commanded by Colonel Vandeleur, made a charge with much gallantry: but they were exposed to a most galling fire, in which Colonel Vandeleur fell. The guns that had fallen into the hands of the British troops, could not be brought away for want of bullocks. The infantry, which had marched at three in the morning, arrived at eleven A.M. Some refreshment

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ment was absolutely requisite. The enemy having sent to offer terms, an hour was allowed them to decide on the proposals offered by the general; in the interim preparations were made for operations.

The right wing was commanded by Major-general Ware, and the left by Major-general St. John. At the expiration of the time allowed to the enemy to decide, the infantry were ordered to advance; they were met by the most determined gallantry on the part of the enemy, supported by cannister-shot, served with most dreadful effect. The enemy assumed altogether so menacing a position, that the cavalry was ordered to attack. His Majesty's 29th Regiment was commanded by Captain Wade, Major Griffith having been killed. They charged with great gallantry, in which Major-general Ware fell, his head being carried off by a cannon shot. Colonel McDonald succeeded; though wounded, he continued to command. After further vigorous efforts, the enemy was ultimately defeated. The 15th regular battalion, sent from the Deccan under Monsieur Dudenaic, and two battalions of the same description from Delhi, were annihilated, and the French force in Scindiah's service, commanded by French officers, destroyed. Gen. Lake's son was wounded severely in the knee; the general spoke in admiration of the enemy's sepoys, observing, "if they had been commanded by French officers, the result would have been doubtful."

The

1803. The Governor-general, in acknowledging General Lake's account of the engagement, remarked, "Your safety in the midst of such perils, reminds me of Lord Duncan's private account of the battle of Camperdown, in which, describing his own situation in the midst of the general slaughter, he said, 'God covered my head in the day of battle.'"

Cuttack. The successful operations in Cuttack enabled the Governor-general to send up the European regiment to Allahabad, to await the commander-in-chief's orders. His lordship wrote General Lake: "The principle of all my plans of war is exactly the same with that which appears to me to be your leading principle in action; to commence the attack, and to compel the enemy to a defensive system." He then took a view of the mode by which the war could be most advantageously prosecuted. The movement towards the northward was not to be lost sight of, and if Holkar should mix in the war, the destruction of his force was to be a primary object. His present views were supposed to be neutral, but it was believed he would rush into war if any object of avarice or ambition appeared attainable.

General Lake, in thanking the Governor-general for this communication, stated, "I must ever regret the loss of so many brave men and worthy officers, and have only to look up to that Providence with adoration and thanksgiving, whom, in the

1803.

the midst of our most perilous situations, saved so many of us to tell the tale, and offer up our prayers for His mercies vouchsafed."

Vigilant superintendance of the Governor-general.

The Governor-general had to direct his attention to every quarter of his immense charge. Alluding to the state of affairs in Europe, in a letter to Lord Hobart of the 25th September, and the necessity of guarding against the French at Cochin, "I entertain a confident expectation, that the vigilance of Lord William Bentinck will have induced his lordship to anticipate my opinion with regard to that important position." Writing to Lord William Bentinck, who *had anticipated* measures as to Cochin, the Governor-general expressed his sense of his steadfast support and active co-operation, and his entire approval of his lordship's conduct respecting the French, who were intriguing through M. Collin, a secret agent at Pondicherry, as well as of his lordship's several military arrangements, and other proceedings.*

The responsibility of the Governor-general was not confined to the territories and possessions under the government of the Company, but a forcible appeal was made from the government of Ceylon, for aid to assist in quelling the lamentable state of insurrection caused by the Kandian violation of the truce which had been concluded with them. Aid was extended, but not without great

* Letter to Lord Wm. Bentinck, November 1803.

1803. great inconvenience to the Government, as it lessened the military means of India at a juncture when additional troops were required by the Indian Governments. Lord Wellesley, in a letter to Lord Hobart, dwelt at considerable length upon the importance of Ceylon being placed under the control and superintendence of the Governor-general.

General Lake, then in camp at Coorka, aware that no one more earnestly desired that the blessings of peace and tranquillity might be restored to India than the Governor-general, whenever they could be secured with safety, expressed a hope that the negotiations pending with the Rajpoot princes would be satisfactorily concluded. He thought little was to be apprehended from Holkar, upon whose views and motions he should still keep a vigilant watch.

1804. Holkar.

The Governor-general, in order to avoid, if possible, hostilities with Holkar, expressed his wish to General Lake that he should open negotiations with that chief; reserving, at the same time, any acknowledgment or confirmation of the legitimacy of his dominion. The commandant of the fort of Gwalior had refused to surrender that fortress, in pursuance of the treaty with Rajah Umbajee of the 16th of December 1803. There was reason to believe that the Rajah was in communication with Holkar against the Company, as he had manifested a decided indifference towards the requisitions made

made by General Lake. The Governor-general therefore determined not to hold any intercourse with him; that his authority as the representative of Scindiah should not be admitted, by delivering up the districts of Dholepore, Barree, and Rajah Kerrah, situated on the north of the Chumbul, and commanding the line of communication between Agra, Gwalior, and the territory of Gohud.

1804.

Letter from Lord Castlereagh.

The Governor-general received, on the 29th of February, a letter from Lord Castlereagh, expressing, on behalf of his Majesty's Ministers and himself, their unanimous opinion that the government of India could not be placed in any hands so advantageously as his lordship's, and that they had the most anxious disposition to give a cordial and honourable support to his lordship's government, but regretted that there was not a corresponding disposition in the Court of Directors; and that, although he had hoped the feelings which existed had been buried in oblivion, subsequent observations had satisfied him that it would have been exposing the Governor-general's name to unmerited coldness, to have sought the Court's concurrence in *urging* him to continue in the government. He added, that the legal authority of the Board enabled them to disarm much of the disposition manifested with reference to his lordship's administration; but it was difficult, if not impossible, to give a totally different complexion to all the details which originate with others, and which must

1804. must necessarily receive and disclose the stamp and character of the mind which prevails in the Direction.

This communication was certainly not calculated to propitiate the feelings of the Governor-general towards the executive body of the Company, whilst the drain on their home coffers for the supply of specie to India increased their indisposition towards his lordship's policy.

The following extract of a letter from the chairman of the Court of Directors, will convey some idea of the state of feelings at home; it shows, likewise, the difficulty which the Court experienced, in providing pecuniary supplies.

This letter will accompany a dispatch, communicating to your lordship the rupture of this country with the late united provinces, whom the French Republic have not permitted to preserve a neutrality, which would have been (I persuade myself) as congenial to their wishes, as it would have been advantageous to their interests.

What projects the Corsican adventurer may form to injure this country and its dependencies (except that of an attempt of a descent upon Great Britain or Ireland), no person is well enough informed to know; but doubtless, disappointed as he has been in the objects of his ambition, and boiling as his breast is with revenge, nothing within the reach of his capability (and, in the present state of Europe, this capability is great,) will be omitted to be tried. I am unable, however, in turning my eyes round to our different and dispersed possessions in the different quarters of the world, to anticipate any great mischief except what may have arisen to us, if France, deciding upon the knowledge which she obtained of our

our having suspended the evacuation of the Cape, had made up her mind to give orders for acting hostilely against us, intending, if an actual rupture did not afterwards occur, to shelter himself under this temporary suspension of the treaty. In this case, it is impossible to calculate what mischief may not have been effected by Linois's squadron. I persuade myself, from the circumstances to which I have myself been a party, that this has not been the case, but my mind will not be relieved from its doubts till I hear the final destination of that squadron.

1803.

You will not, I hope, have any reason to complain of my exertions, when you find our supply of silver to India and China this season will amount to £1,700,000; it is a vast sum to have collected, in the present situation of Europe, and exceeds in amount my most sanguine expectations. My apprehensions are, that a great part of it will be wanted for our military expenses upon the coast, and that it will thus be diverted from the purposes for which it was intended. If the Peishwa's government is re-established without a very heavy disburse from the Company's funds, I shall find myself agreeably disappointed. It is impossible, in the present moment, to form any opinion upon the amount of bullion that may be sent out next year; every exertion will be made to render it as large as possible, but I strongly recommend you to form your estimates upon the expectation of a very limited supply of this article. In the first place, our funds have been crippled completely by the unexpected occurrence of the war, and by the enormous duties which have been imposed upon every article; in the second place, the assistance of Government, in the return of a further part of the debt which it owes to the Company, is made, by the same circumstance of the war, a matter of much greater uncertainty than it would otherwise have been; and lastly, we cannot depend upon or exert our credit in war as in peace. But should the resources of the Company

1803. Company not fail, it is still not possible at all to guess at the amount of the supply which the markets of Europe may afford. I would, therefore, by all means recommend you not to depend upon a receipt of silver larger in amount than from three to seven or eight hundred thousand pounds. I think the supply may be nearer the first, *viz.* three hundred, than the latter, seven; but at the same time I beg you always to bear in mind, that though you should not depend upon the receipt of a large sum, every exertion will be made to extend the supply to the largest possible amount.

Of our great men I say nothing, except that the general impression of the public seems to be, that things cannot continue for any length of time exactly in their present state.

I have long had it in contemplation in my mind that it would be a wise thing in the East-India Company to abandon entirely their settlement of Bencoolen. Reduced even as it is (I hope) in expense, I still think it a useless drain upon our finances, and that its commercial advantages are not equivalent to its expense. In a military point of view, or as a station, I am not aware that it possesses any.

In addition to the pressure on the Company's finances was the feeling occasioned by the affairs of Oude, which had necessarily been confined to the Secret Committee.

Many of the Directors have applied to see the secret papers relating to the Oude negotiation: but they have not yet been made public, and before they are it will be necessary to determine whether or not they are to be answered in the public correspondence. The Nabob I make no doubt is now more at his ease than ever, but I fear we must not try the measures that have made him so *in foro conscientiæ.**

In

* Letter from Jacob Bosanquet, Esq., October 1803.

1803.

In addition to £1,700,000 in silver, already sent, a further sum of £200,000 was to be forwarded. The Company's stock had fallen, since the recommencement of hostilities with the Mahrattas, from 215 to 160; but his lordship was assured by the President of the Board, that the utmost aid would be given to enable him to overcome all the pecuniary difficulties.

Pecuniary affairs.

The condition of the finances was in fact the test by which all acts were tried. There could not be a position of greater embarrassment than that in which the Governor-general stood at this period. Europe in a state of war, the British Government in India involved in unavoidable hostilities, specie scarcely to be obtained for remittance to India, whilst self-interest annihilated every other feeling that ought to have operated at such a juncture. The merchants at Madras acted most handsomely to the Government: the fifteen lacs of treasury notes in circulation had caused them to fall to six per cent. discount. The merchants nevertheless always consented to receive them at par; but the loss suffered by Government arose from the want of co-operation on the part of the Company's servants, who, having funds in the houses of agency, insisted upon the payment of them in *specie* for the purpose of speculating in treasury paper. Several of the houses of agency resisted this demand, but the claimants actually resorted to the Supreme Court to enforce payment.

 The

1803.

The exportation of specie from Madras during the three preceding years had been very great. Such were the variety of causes that combined to render the situation of the Governor-general one of great responsibility and of arduous and anxious labour; but in the midst of these conflicting interests, and far from insensible to the ill feeling which existed towards him in the Home authorities, his lordship was not to be diverted from his purpose of establishing the supremacy of the British power in India, and of subduing its enemies, leaving his measures to be judged by the results that would be seen to have flowed from them at a future period.

Marquis Wellesley to Court.

The Governor-general addressed the Court of Directors in March. His lordship referred to his letter of the 20th of December, which intimated his intention of remaining in India to await the issue of the transactions in the Mahratta empire, which originated in 1802. As the treaties of peace with Scindiah and the Rajah of Berar had been concluded on principles of exemplary faith and equity towards the Company's allies, of moderation and lenity towards their enemies, and of a just regard for the general prosperity of India, he notified his intention of embarking for Europe at the close of 1804. In the interim it was his lordship's intention to proceed to Agra, returning to Calcutta by December. Should, however, any event arise to demand his remaining in India a longer

longer period, his lordship stated that the Court might rely on his zeal for the interests and honour of the Company and of that country.

1804.

On the same day that the Governor-general was announcing these intentions to the Court, he received a letter from Lord Castlereagh, upon the subject of the discussions that had been carried on between the Court and the Board regarding the College; the despatch advised the adoption of a very modified scheme for the instruction of Writers, and, if expedient, ultimately at each of the presidencies.

China fleet defeat French ships of war.

On the 14th of February, a squadron of French ships of war in the Straits of Malacca, commanded by Admiral Linois, in the *Marengo* of eighty guns, of two large frigates, a corvette of thirty guns, and a Dutch brig of eighteen guns, was defeated by the China fleet homeward-bound, Captain Dance, of the *Earl Camden*, being Commodore. He was gallantly supported by Captain J. F. Timins of the *Royal George*, who led his ship into action in admirable style. The whole of the officers and men of the fleet afforded the most cordial and determined support to the commodore. The value of the cargo and fleet was little short of eight millions sterling. The Company handsomely acknowledged the services of the commodore, officers, and men.*

The

* The sum of £50,000 was presented by the Company: Commodore Dance was knighted and granted an annuity of £500, besides

1804.
Operations in Bengal.

The military operations in India had, in former wars, been in a great measure governed by the weather: the rainy season having generally put a total stop to them. The drought had been so excessive in the last year, as to admit of the movements of the army when all parties had calculated on a cessation of hostilities. The enemy, who were extremely superstitious, declared that the Almighty had ordered the dry season for the English conquering Hindostan, and that nothing could stand against them as God fought for them. "I do," observed General Lake, "most sincerely agree with them, as our successes have been beyond all parallel, and must have had the assistance of an invisible hand. I cannot help offering my thanks to Providence whenever I reflect upon the operations of this campaign, which nothing but his guidance could have carried into effect."

besides the sum of £2,000 and a piece of plate of the value of £200; Captain Timins £1,000 and a piece of plate of the value of £100; Captain Moffatt £500 and a piece of plate £100; each of the other captains received £500, and £50 each for a piece of plate, *viz.* Captains Wilson, Farquharson, Torin, Clarke, Martin, Wordsworth, Kirkpatrick, Hamilton, Farrar, Prendergast, Lacking, Lochner.

CHAPTER IX.

1804.
General Wellesley engaged in forming the treaties with Scindiah, &c.

General Wellesley had been engaged, since the termination of the military operations in the Deccan, in settling several points relating to the transactions and treaties with Scindiah and the Rajah of Berar. The latter chieftain having laid claim to certain districts previously possessed by the Nizam, situated on the left bank of the Wurdah, reference was made by Mr. Elphinstone, then resident at Nagpore, to General Wellesley. The General replied that it was impossible to frame a treaty of peace to provide for a decision of all questions, but that certain principles supply the defects of such instruments; one of those principles being, that the meaning of an article of a treaty shall not be construed in a sense directly the reverse of the principles and basis on which such treaty of peace is founded. As upon the face of the treaty no intention appeared that the districts in question were to be ceded to the Rajah, the decision was therefore adverse to his claim.

Major Malcolm was deputed to the camp of Scindiah, to effect a definitive alliance under instructions

1804.

structions from General Wellesley. The terms on which he completed the object called forth the warmest approbation of the general, who remarked, "that all the qualifications which had so repeatedly gained the applause of the Governor-general had been again displayed, and established on the part of Major Malcolm fresh claims upon the East-India Company and his country." Scindiah was to receive a subsidiary force, to be stationed near his frontiers, and to be available in promoting the joint interests of the contracting parties.* The treaty was signed on the 27th February, and ratified by the Governor-general on the 23d March.

Subsidiary system.

The subsidiary system, which has been erroneously attributed to Marquis Wellesley, was introduced long before his lordship proceeded to India. In order to render it effectual, General Wellesley considered that the treaties ought to provide the means of giving support to the native governments in the administration of their local affairs, and thereby enable them to maintain their own authority. If, observed the general, the Nizam and the Peishwa were not to entertain armies for these objects, the number of troops to be supplied to each by way of subsidy would require to be largely increased, and in that case, could those chiefs pay for the additional charge? If not, the expense would fall upon the British Government, to whom cessions would be made to defray, in part only, the additional cost.

Another

* This stipulation was never fulfilled.

Another evil, he considered, was occasioned by the disbanding considerable portions of the armies of our allies. It let loose formidable bodies of armed men, who, in the character of freebooters, were ready for any measure of plunder, or, by joining the enemies of the state and acting with the Pindarrees, could inflict upon the rich and undefended points of the Company's provinces the most serious calamities. We had not cavalry to withstand the inroads of such bodies of undisciplined horsemen, who spread devastation and ruin wherever they came.

1801.

In contemplation of hostilities with Holkar, General Wellesley submitted his opinion on the measures best calculated to reduce his power. He pointed out the essential aid which Colonel Murray in Guzerat might afford by a judicious application of his force. Writing to that officer, he observed:

Colonel Murray in Guzerat.

> You have now a great game in your hands; but all will depend upon your management of the natives with whom you will have to co-operate. I have only to recommend you to conciliate them as much as possible—to treat them with the greatest kindness and attention; you must not lose sight that they are Mahrattas, but do not let them perceive that you distrust them.

Colonel Murray had made frequent communications to General Wellesley on the small number of his European force. The general, when he broke up in the Deccan, under orders from the Governor-general in the month of June, intimated to Colonel Murray

1804. Murray that he would henceforth be placed under the orders of the Bombay Government.

You have a larger body of Europeans than the commander-in-chief or I ever had. From your frequent allusions to this subject, I should be induced to believe that you do not deem your force sufficient to perform the service on which you are employed, if I was not aware of the circumstances to which I have above referred, and it is therefore necessary that I should request you to explain yourself fully to Mr. Duncan, the governor of Bombay, upon it.

The commander-in-chief at Cawnpore, when alluding to Colonel Monson's retreat, wrote to the Governor-general: "If Colonel Murray could advance, the several consequences attending a forward movement from that quarter would have a most wonderful effect. He complains of a want of provision and cattle." Again, on the 22d, "A report prevails that Murray is at Kotah, which I cannot believe, he might be of greater use there, but I fear I shall derive no advantage from his movements." And on the 19th October, "If Colonel Murray, or any one else who may be in command, would but come forward at all, this monster* would not escape." Colonel Murray had difficulties to contend with in procuring provisions and money. General Wellesley, alluding to the pressure, pays a just tribute to the aid afforded to Government in seasons of difficulty by the present Sir Charles Forbes, Bart., then at Bombay.

Never being at a loss for resources in the most pressing

* Holkar.

1804.

General Wellesley's method of clothing his army.

pressing emergencies, General Wellesley had turned his troops into a body of tailors: his army being too much in want of clothing to delay for the observance of forms, he sent up cloth, which was divided into quantities necessary for a sepoy's jacket, to each of whom they were given, and they managed to clothe themselves; otherwise five thousand would have passed the monsoon in rags. Whilst no one paid more attention to the clear wording of papers of moment, he had a dislike to captious objections, and deprecated the obstruction given to public business by attempting to draw nice logical distinctions upon words, or to give them a meaning they were never intended to convey.

General Wellesley proceeds to Calcutta.

Having received instructions to repair to Calcutta, he submitted to the commander-in-chief at Madras a memorandum on the relief of the troops in Malabar, and the settlement of affairs at Wynaad, receiving a gratuity of one month's pay to the persons belonging to the bullock department, who served under him during the late war. The latter representation was supported by the fact, that in the former war against Seringapatam, it was thought sufficient to drag the train of artillery to the attack, but never expected that the guns and carriages should be brought away again; such, however, had been the state of efficiency throughout the late severe service, that the general was able, with but little assistance, to draw away the guns which the troops

1804.

troops had with them; and that, after all the duty in which so great a space of country had been marched over, the number of cattle that had died was scarcely greater than it would have been at the grazing ground. It would not have been difficult to prove that the new mode was the cheapest; but the consideration respecting a public establishment of the description, was not referable entirely to cheapness in such a war as the last, *celerity* of movement being every thing.

The disasters in Bundlecund, under Colonel Fawcett, called forth strong expressions of indignation on the part of the Governor-general, having been caused by either inefficiency or incapacity. Captain Baillie being appointed superintendant of that province, his conduct in the command of two hundred cavalry and one thousand sepoys, by firmness, manly prudence, and fortitude, restored confidence.

Colonel Monson's retreat.

A still more serious check was experienced by a detachment under the Hon. Colonel Monson, who in the month of May had been directed to watch the movements of Holkar, in order to prevent his entrance into Hindostan.

The Governor-general, from the notes he had perused of that officer's position, and of the position of Colonel Murray in Guzerat, who it was intended should advance in support of Colonel Monson, suggested that a reinforcement of European troops, and two or three regiments of native cavalry,

cavalry, should be sent to Colonel Murray. At the time that the Governor-general was communicating these views, the commander-in-chief was writing to the Governor-general of Colonel Monson's retreat from Malwa, near Rampoora, situated to the westward of the Banas river, and the southward of Tonk.

1804.

Had Colonel Murray fortunately come on, Holkar would have been completely destroyed.

His want of cavalry was supposed to be the cause of his not advancing. Zalim Sing of Kotah, on the borders of the Chumbul, behaved admirably, and proved himself a staunch friend to the British Government; it was apprehended that, should Colonel Monson quit his country, he would suffer severely for it. General Lake was at Cawnpore, and intimated that he should soon be at Agra, if Colonel Monson needed support, adding,

Despondency is of no avail: we must therefore set to work, and retrieve our misfortune as quick as possible.

The worst apprehensions were unfortunately realized. Colonel Monson had encamped on the Banas river on the 22d August, expecting to be enabled to cross the following day. It had not, however, fallen sufficiently: he therefore ordered Captain Nicholl, with six companies of the second battalion of the 21st regiment, to pass over in boats, and proceed immediately to Khooshull Ghur in charge of the treasure. On the evening of the 23d, Holkar's cavalry came up. After severe

1804. severe conflicts, the enemy continually harassing the troops, they reached an old ruined fort at Hindoun on the evening of the 27th, greatly exhausted. On the 28th they arrived at the Biana pass about sunset, and at the city of Biana about nine. There the baggage and troops got mixed, and in great confusion, but being at length separated, the troops made the best of their way to Agra in detachments, where the whole had arrived on the 31st. Captain Nicholl's party, with the treasure, was attacked at Khooshull Ghur, but very gallantly repulsed the enemy. Throughout this disastrous retreat the utmost bravery was exhibited by Colonel Monson, his officers and men. It afforded another instance where, from the want of a combination of those peculiar qualities which alone constitute a skilful commander, such reverses have happened, the devotion of both officers and men being sacrificed to incompetency in the chief. General Lake wrote to the Governor-general, "I am certain the account will be the cause of as much misery to yourself as to me." The sentiments of the Governor-general cannot fail to draw forth admiration :

Grievous and disastrous as the events are, the extent of the calamity does not exceed my expectation. From the first hour of Colonel Monson's retreat, I have always augured the ruin of that detachment. I fear my poor friend Monson is gone. Whatever may have been his fate, or whatever the result of his misfortune to my own fame, I will

1804.

will endeavour to shield his character from obloquy, nor will I attempt the mean purpose of sacrificing his reputation to save mine. His former services, and his zeal, entitle him to indulgence; and, however I may lament, or suffer from his errors, I will not reproach his memory if he be lost, or his character if he survive. I admit no doubt in my mind of your complete and early triumph; but it is necessary on all great occasions to look to the utmost possible, or rather imaginable, degree of misfortune, distinctly in front.

This defeat of Colonel Monson led the Governor-general to postpone his visit to the Upper Provinces. The commander-in-chief advanced to Agra, and on the 22d August assured the Governor-general that he had raised as few men as possible. The sepoys, with the exception of a very few, "behaved most gloriously, and had in general evinced a strong attachment to the Government." He apprehended that he should derive no advantage from Colonel Murray's movements. General Lake was at Muttra on the 7th of October; Holkar having collected the whole of his cavalry at the village of Anonkee, about two coss in front of his position, General Lake marched out before day-light on the morning of the 7th of October, and drove the enemy from their ground, Holkar being the first to fly; their direction appearing to be Bhurtpore. A disappointment in the supply of grain prevented the army marching on the 19th.

Upon the point of supplies, one of the last importance to an Indian army which has to traverse

so

1804. so great an extent of country, General Wellesley, whilst at Calcutta, endeavoured to gain some particulars. In communicating the result of his enquiries, he accompanied it by a statement of the mode which he had himself adopted in detail, and observed, "In truth, no person here knows how General Lake is supplied, any more than if his army was in Japan." General Lake, then at Delhi, had seen the king the preceding day, who expressed himself sensible of the advantages derived from the protection of the British Government. The conduct of Colonel Ochterlony was highly applauded.

General Wellesley's memoranda on various subjects of government.

General Wellesley prepared various other memoranda on important subjects of interest in connexion with measures of the government. The *first* paper related to the possible conduct of Scindiah, whose affairs were in so desperate a state, as to hold out but little promise of aid from him in operations against Holkar.

Scindiah.

Holkar.

The *second*, on the extent and danger of the freebooter system in India, with the chance of the evil arising from bodies of numerous military classes, from whom it was in vain to expect the habits of industry required for their subsistence in a civil capacity, and suggested remedies to check the evil.

Military establishment.

The *third* related to the military establishment of India, pointed out the inefficiency of that adopted in 1796, and also of the measures of 1799 and

and 1801, when alterations and additions were made in the military government. It did not appear that the Home authorities had any detailed statements before them when they issued the orders, or that they knew the circumstances of the country to which they were intended to be applied.

1804.

The *fourth*, on the rank of colonel, as connected with the four new regiments to be raised at Madras.

Rank of colonels.

The *fifth*, as to colonels of artillery, when major-generals, being competent to be placed on the staff of the army.

Colonels of artillery.

The *sixth*, relative to the army of the commander-in-chief in his operations against Holkar. In this paper General Wellesley exhibited that peculiar judgment which formed so marked a feature in his military operations. The view he took of Holkar's force if acting separately, and the formidable accession he would derive if, as it was reported, the Rajah of Bhurtpore should join him. This chief was considered by General Wellesley the most dangerous enemy the Company could have. To defeat Holkar in the field, to establish a firm authority in Malwa, and to destroy the Rajah of Bhurtpore, were the objects to be kept in view; but all depended upon the power of attacking Bhurtpore with vigour.

Operations against Holkar.

A *seventh*, on the system of regulating the *intelligence* department; a point of great moment during

1804.

during war, in such a country as that of India, where to obtain intelligence of the enemy's movements and intentions sufficiently early to take advantage of them, was a matter of the greatest difficulty.

General Wellesley returns to the Deccan.

General Wellesley having fulfilled the objects of the Governor-general in repairing to Calcutta, prepared in the middle of November to return to his duties in the Deccan. The civil and military powers vested in him under the orders of June 1803, were renewed. He was, accordingly, to resume the chief command of all the British troops, and of the forces of their allies serving in the territories of the Peishwa, the Soubahdar of the Deccan, or any of the Mahratta states or chiefs, subject only to the orders of the commander-in-chief at Madras, or his Excellency General Lake. He also possessed the direction and control of all the political and military affairs of the British Government in those countries. He embarked from Calcutta on the 14th November, in the *Bombay* frigate, and at Ganjam took on board Major Malcolm, where he also received intelligence of the illness of Mr. Webbe, then at Scindiah's durbar, and urged the necessity of Mr. Sydenham's joining it without delay, as, should Mr. Webbe * retire from it, the affairs of the residency would be left in the hands of Mr. Jenkins, a very promising, but still too young a servant. General Wellesley landed at Madras

Illness of Mr. Webbe.

* Mr. Webbe died on the 9th November, in Scindiah's camp.

1804.

Madras on the 21st, and proceeded to Seringapatam by Arcot, where he took an opportunity of looking at his "old friends," the 19th Dragoons and the 4th Cavalry. Both looked remarkably well. "The horses of the 4th were lean, but then their coats were smooth and clean." He desired to have allowed them six months' rest and refreshment at Arcot, having purposely sent them into the Carnatic, because the men had not seen their families since the corps marched with the grand army in February 1799, nearly five years!

These details are interesting, in showing the minute attention which was paid by the general to the state of his troops and their appointments, and his concern for the comforts of his men. Major Wilks, then acting resident in Mysore, when reporting to Lord William Bentinck, governor of Madras, on the state of that country, observed, "I am far from intending an unbecoming compliment to General Wellesley at the expense of others, in stating a doubt whether the same extent of support may always be afforded by his successors, because the actual duties of that command can never be made to prescribe the *parental* description of care with which the Hon. General Wellesley has guarded the government of Mysore."

Testimony to General Wellesley.

The intended measures of the Governor-general against the Mahrattas, as alluded to in the summer of 1803, had created strong feelings of apprehen-

Views of the Home authorities as to Mahratta war.

1804. sion at home. The Secret Committee suggested to his lordship, in March 1804, some relaxation in the treaty of Bassein, for the purpose of relieving the Peishwa from the subsidiary force in his territory. The deceitful and disingenuous conduct of Scindiah and of the Rajah of Berar, was admitted; but the early termination of the war was nevertheless pressed at almost any sacrifice. Lord Castlereagh communicated to Marquis Wellesley, in May, these apprehensions to have particular reference to the possible extension of the Company's influence, bringing them in contact with the Seiks and other northern tribes with whom it was proposed to establish connexions through the Punjab, as far as the Indus. After remarking upon the prospect of affairs, Lord Castlereagh acknowledged "the error into which the result proved he had fallen, in his former observations and reasonings on Mahratta affairs." Others, as well as himself, had formed a mistaken estimate of Scindiah's power and force. It had proved much more formidable than even Mr. Henry Wellesley had conceived it to be, from whom his lordship had received, on all subjects regarding India, the most satisfactory and accurate intelligence. The dissolution of this force was considered to be amongst the most valuable services the Governor-general could render, and the war was contemplated by Lord Castlereagh as carrying with it this collateral effect, the most solid advantage to the British empire in the East. The tenor

1804.

tenor of this communication from the President of the Board of Control, marks the different views entertained by that authority and by the Court of Directors on the great political measures then in progress. It likewise proved how impossible it was for parties at home to lay down any prescribed course of policy for the Indian governments, calculated to meet events, which a day might bring forth in an empire so peculiarly constituted, and at twelve thousand miles distance from the mother country. Had the views of the Secret Committee been obeyed, the reduction of the Mahratta chieftains would have been abandoned, and the supremacy of the British power, which was inevitable—postponed to a more distant period, with all the attendant charge of an armed pacification.

Battle of Deig.

The next important operation under General Lake was the battle of Deig. Holkar had altered his plans, and crossed the river Jumna with his cavalry, leaving his guns on the other side. The commander-in-chief determined himself to follow Holkar with six regiments of cavalry, and the reserve, leaving Major-general Fraser with six battalions of native infantry, and his Majesty's seventy-sixth regiment, with the European regiment, and two regiments of native cavalry, to take his guns. General Lake quitted Delhi on the 31st October. In November, General Fraser attacked the infantry and the whole of the guns commanded by Holkar's chief, Sirdar Kernaut Dada. General Fraser

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General Fraser killed.

Fraser being severely wounded, by which he lost his leg, was obliged to quit the field, and afterwards died of the wound. The command devolved upon Colonel Monson, who, after carrying the village of Deig, attacked and charged the enemy's advanced-guard, under a most tremendous fire of round, grape, and chain shot; they abandoned their guns on the approach of the British force. The enemy were ultimately defeated, and fled in every direction. Their force had consisted of twenty-four battalions, a considerable body of horse, and one hundred and sixty pieces of cannon. Their loss was great, and that of the British considerable.

General Lake's operations.

The commander-in-chief had descended into the Dooab, where his presence was demanded by the disposition of the Begum, who had been joined by some of the Seiks, whilst the zemindars were actuated by plunder, with the certainty of the Rohillas joining them. The people in all parts assisted Holkar, and the town of Furruckabad behaved exceedingly ill towards the British force. General Lake reached that city in the morning before daybreak, after a march of more than thirty-four miles. The enemy were surprised under the walls; vast numbers of their men and horses were taken, with all their baggage and cattle. Holkar escaped by an early flight. The troops sustained the most severe privations, and endured excessive fatigue. They marched for eighteen days succes-

Great exertion of the troops.

sively

1804.

sively nearly twenty-four miles a day, and on the day and night preceding the rencontre at Furruckabad, fifty-eight miles! Throughout, they were stated to have behaved admirably. On the 19th, General Lake was at Delhi, in pursuit of Holkar. The rapidity of this general's march astonished the natives beyond measure. At this moment he received an intimation from Colonel Monson of his intention to fall back to Muttra for supplies, where there were more than sufficient for two months' consumption. Without this retrograde movement, he might have drawn stores from thence, and avoided the encouragement it was calculated to give to the people to join the Bhurtpore rajah, and thus protract a war which might otherwise have been brought to a conclusion. "But," added General Lake, referring to Colonel Monson, "it is somewhat extraordinary that a man, brave as a lion, should have no judgment or reflection."

Colonel Monson falls back.

Amidst these untoward events, and with a knowledge of the sentiments entertained at home so adverse to hostilities, the Governor-general expressed his fullest confidence in the result of his measures, and in the energetic operations of the commander-in-chief, who proceeded to Muttra on the 30th November. Holkar having quitted the Dooab, and crossed the Jumna at a ford in the vicinity of Mohabun, the Rajah of Bhurtpore determined to support him. The reduction of that fortress, therefore, became a matter of importance. It was known to

Spirit of perseverance of the Governor-general.

1804.

to be very strong, but General Lake calculated on its early surrender.

Lord Castlereagh to Governor-general.

At this period instructions reached the Governor-general from Lord Castlereagh and the Secret Committee for increasing the naval force of the country. The country shipping was pointed out by Mr. Dundas, who had been in the Company's marine at Bombay: six ships were fixed upon; the officers and men to be sent out from England by the Admiralty. These measures were taken to guard against the apprehension entertained of the French power in the Mauritius.

Siege of Bhurtpore.

General Lake was at Deig on the 8th December, whither instructions were forwarded to his excellency from the Governor-general, directing him to prosecute hostilities against the Rajah of Bhurtpore, the subjugation of whose territory was essential to the reduction of Holkar's hostile force. The pursuit of Holkar's person and army being the principal objects of the war, the Governor-general desired that circular communications might be made from the commander-in-chief to the allies on the north-west frontier, and to the several Rajpoot states, including Kotah; also to Begum Sumroo, and the Seik chieftains, for the purpose of explaining the principles of his conduct in attacking Bhurtpore. Bapojee Scindiah, an officer in Dowlut Row Scindiah's service, and one who received a jaghire or pension from the Company, had at this time joined Holkar. The Governor-general commanded

commanded a proclamation to be issued, ordering Bapojee and his followers to attend at General Lake's camp on a given day, on pain of forfeiting his pension. In the event of his not obeying the call, and his being taken prisoner, he was to be tried by court-martial, and the sentence forthwith executed. General Lake having received information that a practicable breach had been made in the wall of Bhurtpore on the 9th January, determined upon storming the place the same evening, in order to prevent the enemy from stockading it during the night. Insurmountable obstacles presented themselves. The water in the ditch was very deep; this the party overcame, and reached the bottom of the breach: but every effort to ascend proved fruitless. After suffering great loss in repeated attempts, they were obliged to retire. Lieut.-colonel Maitland, of his Majesty's 75th, commanding the party, was among the killed; he had continued to fight, after having received several wounds, until a ball pierced his forehead, which proved instantaneously mortal. Major Hawkes gained possession of the enemy's battery. A second attempt was made on the 21st, but the ditch was found to be so broad and deep, that the party was obliged to return to the trenches, after being exposed to a heavy fire for some time, which occasioned severe loss. On the 23d the commander-in-chief detached the 1st native cavalry, and the 1st battalion 15th regiment, under Captain Welsh,

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Welsh, to meet a convoy of provisions from Muttra. It was attacked furiously on its march by a considerable body of Holkar's infantry, under Ameer Khan and Bapojee Scindiah. General Lake, on hearing the firing, immediately detached Lieut.-colonel Neeld with his H.M. 27th Dragoons to the relief of the party under Captain Welsh, which had made a most gallant defence: on the approach of Colonel Neeld they moved forward, and charged the enemy, who were totally routed. Ameer Khan, who commanded the infantry, appears to have been so closely pursued, that to prevent his being known he stripped off his clothes and arms; his palanquin, with a complete suit of armour, was brought into the camp, as was also the palanquin of Bapojee Scindiah.

General Wellesley's views of proceeding to Europe.

One of the objects entrusted to General Wellesley, when he left Calcutta in November, was to prevent Scindiah and the Rajah of Berar from becoming parties in the war against the Company, and, if possible, to march a corps of cavalry to join Colonel Murray in Malwa. In the event of Holkar being defeated, his proceeding to the Deccan would be rendered unnecessary, but he was to stay in that quarter if he should hear of it after his arrival there. Accounts of Holkar's defeat determined General Wellesley not to move to the northward from Seringapatam; he therefore turned his thoughts towards Europe. He intimated through the Governor-general's private secretary,

cretary, on the 4th January, that after considerable doubt he had come to the resolution of not going into the Deccan. Aware of the favourable feeling of the people towards him, he felt that whenever his departure took place, the same inconveniences would be experienced, and that the same causes which called for his presence there, at the moment, would exist for the following seven years; as he did not intend to pass his life in the Deccan, nor to stay one moment longer than the Governor-general remained in India, he fixed February as the time of his departure. With regard to prolonging his stay, the question was, whether the Court of Directors, or the King's Ministers, had any claim sufficiently strong to induce him to do any thing so disagreeable to his feelings—leaving health out of the question.

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I have served the Company in important situations for many years, and have never received any thing but injury from the Court of Directors, although I am a singular instance of an officer who has served under all the governments, and in common with all the political residents, and many civil authorities; and there is not an instance on record, or in any private correspondence, of disapprobation of any one of my acts, or a single complaint, or even a symptom of ill-temper from any one of the civil or political authorities, in communication with whom I have acted. The King's Ministers have as little claim upon me as the Court of Directors. I am not very ambitious, and I acknowledge that I have never been very sanguine that military services in India would be considered in the scale in

which

1805. which similar services are considered in other parts of the world. But I might have expected to be placed on the staff in India, and yet, if it had not been for the lamented death of General Fraser, General Smith's arrival would have made me supernumerary. This is perfectly well known to the army, and is the subject of a good deal of conversation. If my services were absolutely necessary for the security of the British empire, or to ensure its peace, I should not hesitate a moment about staying, even for years; but these men, or the public, have no right to ask me to stay in India, merely because my presence in a particular quarter may be attended by convenience.

General Wellesley also felt that his presence might be useful in England, to afford information on some of the affairs of India, to explain the causes of the late increase of the military establishments, and to endeavour to explode some erroneous notions which had been entertained and circulated upon this subject.

I am prepared for every thing, and in five days I can be at Madras; and on the other hand, if I should see any solid necessity for going into the Deccan, I shall not be remiss in my duty; but I shall not be drawn there by mere suspicions and unfounded surmises.

These sentiments, whilst not unmixed with feelings arising from causes not now necessary to be more particularly adverted to, were in accordance with that high and honourable bearing which General Wellesley displayed during the long course of seven years' zealous, indefatigable, and distinguished service. He had by his example infused an energy and vigour into the army, and exhibited those

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those military principles and qualities from which the most beneficial effects were anticipated. General Wellesley's position threw him much amongst the natives, and he appears to have won their confidence and esteem in a peculiar degree.

Whatever is the cause, and it may be discovered in reviewing the existing system, the Indian army does not stand in the relation which it ought, to the British dominions. Nor are the high functionaries, who form the connecting link in that system, between the authorities in this country and in India, placed towards their colleagues in that position which the responsibility of their office demands.

General Wellesley determines to quit India

General Wellesley having been apprized from Bengal, that his longer residence at Seringapatam was not essential to the public service, felt most anxious to proceed to England. Mistrusting, however, the judgment of every man, in a case in which his own wishes were concerned, he did not come to the resolution without consulting Major Malcolm, who agreed with him in every point.

Sir Arthur Wellesley,* accordingly, took the necessary steps for carrying into effect instructions from the Governor-general, for the relief and disposition of the troops in the Deccan, and wrote to his lordship announcing his intention to proceed to England by the ships under despatch. On the

2d March

* The notification of Sir Arthur Wellesley's nomination as a Knight of the Bath reached India at this period.

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2d March he advised Purneah, the dewan of the Rajah of Mysore, of his intended departure for Europe, and that he parted with him with the greatest regret, adding :—

General Wellesley's letter to Purneah.

I shall ever feel the most lively interest for the honour and the prosperity of the government of Mysore, over which you preside. Upon the occasion of taking leave of you, I must take the liberty to recommend to you to persevere in the laudable path which you have hitherto followed; let the prosperity of the country be your great object; protect the ryots and traders, and let no man, whether vested with authority or otherwise, oppress them with impunity. Do justice to every man, and attend to the wholesome advice which will be given you by the British resident, and you may depend upon it your government will be as prosperous and permanent as I wish it to be.

Addresses to him on his departure.

Addresses were presented to Sir Arthur Wellesley from the field and other officers of his own regiment, the 33d Foot, then at Vellore; from the native inhabitants at Seringapatam, composed of independent soucars (bankers), and others, expressive of their strong feelings of attachment, and their hope that he would return and uphold his protection over them; also from the officers of the garrison of Seringapatam, who participated with the army at large in admiration of those exalted talents and splendid achievements, which had been so recently distinguished by their most gracious Sovereign. They stated :—

We are desirous of offering you the tribute of our particular respect and gratitude, for that consideration and justice

justice in command, which has made obedience a pleasure, and for that frank condescension in the private intercourse of life, which it is our pride individually to acknowledge.

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The European inhabitants and military officers of the presidency of Madras offered the first tribute of their applause and admiration, and requested to be allowed to possess his picture, to be placed in the Exchange-room.

Sir Arthur Wellesley on military discipline.

In the general orders issued to the troops under his command, Sir Arthur Wellesley—

Earnestly recommended to the officers of the army never to lose sight of the great principle of the military service, to preserve the discipline of the troops, and to encourage in their respective corps the spirit and sentiments of gentlemen and of soldiers, as the most certain road to the achievement of every thing that is great in their profession.

Sir Arthur Wellesley embarked on board his Majesty's ship *Trident*, and reached England in September 1805.

There appears to have been but one universal feeling—of regret, at his departure, as well as of personal attachment towards him in all quarters, both native and European.

Lord William Bentinck's testimony to Sir Arthur Wellesley.

Lord William Bentinck, then governor of Madras, whose services in that station will be noticed, felt called upon to address the Chairman of the Court of Directors on the occasion. His lordship stated it to be impossible to describe the sensations of universal concern expressed at the departure of Sir Arthur Wellesley. After adverting to the official despatch in the military department,

1805. ment, which announced the event, his lordship expressed himself as follows :—

I am satisfied that the high degree of reputation which has been acquired by Sir Arthur Wellesley during the period of his services in India, will render it unnecessary for me to recommend to your particular notice this distinguished officer.

In justice, however, to my own feelings, I cannot forego the occasion of expressing my sense of Sir Arthur Wellesley's eminent merits and services, and of conveying a public testimony of my sincere regard for those talents and virtues which have so powerfully contributed to strengthen the foundation of the British empire in India, and to raise our military character in the country to the highest pitch.

The attention of the Court of Directors has been frequently drawn to the high degree of prosperity which the territories of Mysore have obtained under the British influence, and the important benefits which have been derived from the existing state of affairs. In viewing these happy consequences, I feel it to be an act of justice due to Sir Arthur Wellesley, to state my entire belief that there is no cause to which they can be so immediately traced as to the judgment and talents of that officer, which have been invariably directed to every means connected with the public interest. He has left his command, amongst the regret of all individuals, civil and military, European and native.

In tracing such parts of this officer's conduct which may not have appeared upon the public records, it is my duty to state the order and economy with which every department of the service, during the late war, has been carried on. The regularity with which the disbursements of each month have been transmitted, could not have been greater in profound peace. I can assert, that the general arrangement, the correct-

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ness and minuteness of every detail of supply and of account, has been admired by every public and civil officer at the presidency.

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Impressed with sentiments of the strongest regard for the public merits of Sir Arthur Wellesley, and actuated with the warmest feelings of private respect, I have been induced to give the brief recital of his services, not less eminent in the conduct of the war, than in the negotiation of a most honourable and advantageous peace; and I feel an entire conviction that the Honourable Court of Directors will be disposed to extend to Sir Arthur Wellesley a reception correspondent with his merits and reputation.

I have, &c.

W. Bentinck.

Fort St. George, 9th March 1805.

Sir Arthur Wellesley's return to England, and employment.

A few weeks only elapsed between the arrival of Sir Arthur Wellesley in England, and his further employment in the service of his country.

It was a just remark of Major-general Salmond, before the Military Committee in 1832, that had the Duke of Wellington been a Company's instead of a King's officer, his talents, which first became known by his services in India, would have been utterly useless with reference to the safety of England, and the general liberties of Europe. In immediate connexion with this remark, the exclusion of general officers of the Indian army from employment in Europe is naturally felt to operate with peculiar severity, in point both of honour and character. It is one of the anomalies of that army, that soldiers of distinguished talent and services are shut out from all such employ. When an

1805. an officer shall have attained the rank of a general officer, he should be eligible to serve her Majesty in any part of the world.

Siege of Bhurtpore.

The operations against Bhurtpore continued to engage the commander-in-chief, whose third attempt to carry it by assault, on the 20th February, was equally unsuccessful. No better result followed a fourth attempt, under Brigadier-general Monson, who displayed "uncommon gallantry" on the occasion, Major Menzies, aide-de-camp to the commander-in-chief, being among the killed. The steepness of the bastion which was the point of attack, with the vigorous resistance on the part of the enemy, prevented the advance of our troops, except in small parties, whilst discharges of grape, logs of wood, and pots filled with combustible materials, knocked down those who were in the act of ascending. After a tremendous conflict for more than two hours, the troops were constrained to relinquish the attempt, and to retire again to the trenches.

The loss, in the attempts to reduce the fortress, on the part of the British army was, 1 lieut.-colonel, 2 majors, 20 captains, 1 capt.-lieutenant, 45 lieutenants, 1 adjutant, 1 cornet, 2 ensigns, and 2,205 non-commissioned officers and privates.

Opinion of Sir Thos. Munro.

Lieut.-colonel Munro, writing to his brother, acknowledges his account of the last assault :

I admire

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I admire the gallantry and perseverance with which both the Europeans and the Bengal army have so often returned to the assault of Bhurtpore: even if the report of the Europeans being dispirited is well-founded, it is not to be wondered at, for I do not believe that any troops in Europe would have preserved their spirit under so many discouraging repulses as they have sustained. Their despondency will soon vanish. I hope that the general will persevere in the siege, and if he is deficient in military stores, convert it into a blockade till he gets a supply. I see nothing gloomy in your situation, but, on the contrary, every thing that ought to inspire hope and confidence. The repulses at Bhurtpore give me a higher opinion of the Bengal army than all their victories. We cannot expect that we are to carry on war without meeting any disaster, and that it should be quite a holiday work, in which every thing is to go on as we wish.

During these operations, General Lake received from the Marquis Wellesley the notification of his being raised to the peerage. Lord Lake declared that the late disasters at Bhurtpore had taken off much of the pleasure he should have received from the honours granted to him, but hoped, ere long, to be in possession of the town. The Governor-general, although deeply anxious for the success of the measure, pressed upon the commander-in-chief the importance of not renewing the siege without ample means for its prosecution, nor to attempt any assault while the least doubt existed of success. The resumption of the siege previously to the pursuit of Holkar was another point to be attentively weighed; its decision was left

Consideration of Marquis Wellesley for troops in the siege.

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left to the superior judgment of the commander-in-chief by the Governor-general, who desired that the health of the troops should be most seriously and tenderly considered.

In another communication to the commander-in-chief, his lordship expressed a hope that Lord Lake would fix his mind rather upon the certainty than the celerity of the success against that fortress, if it should be necessary to resume the siege; it being of more importance not to fail *again*, than that he should soon succeed.

Scindiah.

The negotiations at the camp of Scindiah were in a painful state of doubt, his conduct to the Resident having been most unjustifiable.

In a representation to the Governor-general of his heads of grievance, was a revival of his claim to the districts of Gohud and Gwalior. The Governor-general pointed out the inaccuracy, fallacy, and injustice of Scindiah's statements, and clearly proved that his claims to Gohud and Gwalior were renounced in the most formal manner by his highness, and that they had no connexion whatever with the schedule of cessions annexed to the treaty of peace. The Rajah of Joudpore had been inserted, but as he had refused to receive the engagement ratified by the British Government, the alliance became dissolved. The Governor-general then enumerated the several acts in which he considered his highness to have manifestly violated the treaty of the defensive alliance, as also the treaty

treaty of peace, and expressed his desire to avoid hostilities; but if, in despite of all efforts to maintain the relations of amity, he should be compelled to renew the war, "every exertion would be made to put a due restraint upon the violence, treachery, and ambition of a state, whose perverted counsels had manifested an utter contempt of every obligation of justice, faith, gratitude, and honour."

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To this representation Scindiah replied, "that as the foundations of union and attachment were durably and satisfactorily established between the two states, 'like the wall of Alexander,' it was his positive intention to return to his capital; but hearing of the enemy's invasion of Hindostan, and it being a point of obligation to lay the dust of disturbance, he turned back from the high road and encamped with a powerful army." The persons who treated the Resident with disrespect were to be rebuked, and harmony to be maintained.

The Governor-general apprized Scindiah, that the British Government would never admit any other power to step in to adjust any differences with another state, and assured him that the only mode in which his force could be useful, was by employing it in the settlement of his own country.

Surrender of Bhurtpore.

Lord Lake succeeded in effecting terms between the Rajah of Bhurtpore and the British Government. The Rajah was to pay twenty lacs of rupees by instalments—if he behaved well, the last five were to be remitted; the sum was to be repaid in three

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three years. Deeg and the country around was surrendered by him, although he earnestly desired to retain it in his own possession. This arrangement enabled Lord Lake, if necessary, to proceed against Scindiah, who had written to the Rajah of Bhurtpore, advising him not to make peace with the English. Scindiah at length retired; a movement which enabled the Governor-general to communicate with the commander-in-chief as to cantoning the army, with a view to operations in the ensuing August, should circumstances call for further measures. The objects to be provided for were, the subsidiary force with the Rana of Gohud; second, Bundlecund; third, Agra and Muttra; fourth, Delhi, in the northern part of the Dooab.

War with Spain.

At this time intelligence reached the Governor-general from England of a probable rupture with Spain. Entire confidence was reposed by the Ministry in the prudence, foresight, and vigour of Marquis Wellesley, to preserve his Majesty's dominions in the East-Indies from threat or attack. Lord Castlereagh wrote at the same time to Lord Wellesley, intimating that it was the desire of Mr. Pitt and himself to try whether the choice of a successor to the office of governor-general might not be made at home, so as to allow of his reaching Calcutta in October.

Letter from Court of Directors.

This communication reached the Governor-general at the same time with the despatch of the Court of Directors of 28th November 1804, animadverting

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madverting upon his lordship's conduct in having issued the instructions for hostilities against Holkar in the Governor-general's own name, singly—in having invested General Wellesley with such extensive powers—in having omitted to send immediate intelligence of these circumstances to the Home authorities—in having pursued a course of policy of which Casee Row, the rightful heir to the Holkar territory, might complain,—and of having generally infringed the provisions of the Act of Parliament regulating the proceedings of the Indian Governments.

Marquis Wellesley to the Court of Directors.

Lord Wellesley acknowledged its receipt, and expressed his hope that the answer of the Governor-general in Council would afford sufficient proof, that the motives and objects of all his endeavours in the service of the Company had been for the preservation and improvement of their interests, and of the interests of the nation in India. His lordship, at the same time, intimated that he should embark in a ship of war for England, so soon as the season would admit.

Governor-general in Council to the Court.

The Governor-general in Council addressed an official reply to the Court of Directors on the 20th of May 1805. Adverting to the authority which it was alleged Marquis Wellesley had assumed irrespective of his Council, in issuing the instructions to General Wellesley in the Deccan, they stated that "they were given, after full communication with the members of the Council, and with their concurrence

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concurrence and approbation." The requisite promptitude and vigour demanded the authority so given, and the same observation applied to those issued to General Lake as commander-in-chief in Hindostan.

The Governor-general in Council stated that the governor-general, by law, appeared to be responsible for the administration of government. That he was not only authorized, but manifestly bound by his duty to act on his separate opinion, distinct from his council, in all cases of deliberate difference on subjects of importance.

With regard to the delay, supposed to have intentionally occurred, in keeping the Court informed as to the progress of affairs, the Governor-general had not relaxed in his earnest endeavours to execute, with punctuality and dispatch, every part of the duties of his arduous charge, amongst which was that of conveying the earliest intelligence of affairs in India.

Provision for the Mogul.

In making a permanent arrangement for the support of his majesty Shah Alum, it had originally been proposed to assign to the king certain lands; but, under the representations from Colonel Ochterlony, the Government felt that it would be better to allow the territory to be assigned for the support of the royal family, to remain under the charge of the Resident at Delhi; the revenue to be collected and justice administered in the name of his majesty. Certain punishments, which involved mutilation

mutilation under sentences of the courts to be established in the assigned territory, were commuted for imprisonment; and a civil servant was to be appointed to assist the resident in superintending the administering of justice.

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The Peishwa expressed to the resident, Captain Sydenham, his voluntary acknowledgment of the benefits which he had derived from the operation of his alliance with the Company.

Peishwa.

The Company, under an agreement with the Nabob of Broach in 1771, were allowed to erect a factory at that place: but the Nabob having failed to fulfil the terms of the agreement, a force was detached by the Governor of Bombay to reduce the place; when, under an agreement concluded with Futty Sing Guicowar, in January 1773, the revenues were to be divided between him and the Company, in the proportions they stood at the time of the conquest. In the course of the war with the Mahrattas in 1778, in support of Ragobah, General Goddard, who had the command of the force sent from Bengal to Bombay,* concluded, at the instance of the Council at the latter presidency, a treaty with Futty Sing, on the 26th January 1780. That chief ceded to the Company a portion of Guzerat south of the Tappey, with the share of the revenues of Surat, and engaged to supply three thousand horse, in return for which he was to have Ahmedabad and other possessions, excluding the government

Guicowar.

* *Vide* vol. i. page 562.

1805. government of Poonah. These were restored to the Mahrattas by the treaty of Salbey in 1783. Govind Row, the Guicowar, died in 1800. His eldest legitimate son and heir, Anund Row, was opposed by Mulhar Row, a cousin of the late Govind Row. The Government determined to support Anund Row: who agreed to subsidize four battalions of the Company's troops, and to cede certain territory, which was to be the means of securing the country around Surat, and clearing it from the demand of a choute, by establishing the Company's authority in the only part of India open to European rivals. Mulhar Row treacherously detained Capt. Williams, who, at his desire, was proceeding to his court, and commenced an attack on Major Walker, but was repulsed with severe loss. A junction being effected by some troops under Sir William Clarke, the fort of Kurree was taken, and the enemy's camp afterwards stormed, when Capt. Williams was released; Mulhar Row subsequently surrendering himself, on promise of personal safety. A treaty was negotiated with the Guicowar, for the purpose of defining the terms of the future connexion between him and the Company, by Major Walker and Rowjee Appajee, the Guicowar's dewan, at Cambay, on the 6th of June. Certain provision was made for Mulhar Row, and the pergunna of Chickly, situated in the district of the Surat Attaveezy, was ceded to the Company, including pecuniary and other arrangements. Both Holkar and Scindiah threatened

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ened the Guicowar's territories, who was assured of full support from the British Government. Capt. Seton was at this time despatched for the purpose of obtaining information relative to the country of Kutch, and Lieutenant Carnac appointed assistant to the Resident, Major Walker, at Baroda. Various agreements and stipulations had been contracted and entered into. The Governor-general had desired to bring about a definitive alliance, for which purpose the Governor of Bombay consulted General Wellesley, when he was there in April 1804. After various modifications and discussions, a definitive treaty of general defensive alliance was entered into at Baroda on the 21st April 1805. A force of not less than three thousand regular native infantry, with one company of European artillery and ordnance, was to be subsidized; and territory valued at 11,70,000 rupees, was ceded to the Company by the Guicowar, who was not to entertain any person in his service without the consent of the British Government: by whom certain points of difference between the Peishwa and Guicowar were to be settled; and should disturbances break out in either state, the subsidiary force on the one side, and the troops of the Company on the other, as circumstances might dictate, were to be supplied.

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Marquis Cornwallis arrives as Governor-general.

The MARQUIS CORNWALLIS, who had been appointed governor-general and commander-in-chief, wrote to Lord Wellesley on the 25th of July, announcing his arrival at Madras, and that it was his intention to proceed to Calcutta in three or four days. Lord William Bentinck had quitted Madras for Calcutta, for the purpose of discussing some points of considerable moment with the Governor-general, and missed the opportunity of seeing Lord Cornwallis, who arrived at Fort William on the 30th July.

Marquis Wellesley apprized Lord Lake of the great satisfaction which he experienced by the arrival of his successor, and that it was his intention to embark between the 15th and 20th August. As Lord Cornwallis held the two appointments of governor-general and commander-in-chief, Lord Lake was nominated provincial commander-in-chief.

Addresses to Lord Wellesley.

In an address presented to Marquis Wellesley from the British inhabitants of Calcutta, they remarked, "We are impressed with the firm persuasion that you have governed with a direct view to the glory of your country, and to the prosperity of its possessions, and with no other personal feeling than the honourable ambition of obtaining its applause as your reward." We desire to mark in the most authentic manner, that you carry with you to our common country, the respect, the regard, and the confidence of your fellow subjects; a confidence which is undiminished at the last hour of your adminis-

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administration; a respect and a regard which are founded on our long experience of your ability, unsullied integrity, of your impartial and honourable use of power, and of your high and liberal spirit in the conduct of public affairs."

His lordship's reply contained the following passage:

The welfare of these extensive dominions constitutes not only a principal object of the general policy of our country, but a solemn obligation of moral duty inseparably connected with the honour and reputation of the British name. It will be my duty to assert, in every situation, the principles by which I have regulated my conduct in the government of this empire, and to inculcate the necessity of maintaining the foundations of our ascendant power in Asia, upon the firm basis of justice, fortitude, and clemency.

Concluding remarks on Marquis Wellesley's administration.

Prejudice, caused by party feeling or personal interest, must have ceased to bias the mind in passing judgment upon the Indian administration of Marquis Wellesley. His lordship's government may be characterised as the most brilliant instance of British rule in that quarter of the globe. The period when he entered upon the charge was most portentous. His comprehensive mind seized with discriminating promptitude, and pursued with unabated vigour, those measures which annihilated the influence of our powerful European rival, subjugated the most implacable but not unnatural enemy

1805. enemy amongst the native chiefs to the British power, and brought under the Company's control the princes on the coast, whose treachery had been so clearly established as to constrain the Governor-general to adopt the extreme course of depriving them of their territory.

The impotent head of the Mahratta state, by his vacillating policy, defeated the measures which were calculated to maintain his supremacy, and promoted the further aggrandizement of his powerful feudatories. These chiefs had exercised the most extended sway by means of their predatory and undisciplined bands. Having incorporated French officers and troops amongst their forces, they manifested designs so hostile and ambitious, as to leave but the choice between abject submission to their rule, or a decided opposition to its continuance. The Governor-general was too well aware of the strength which unopposed ambition gathers, to expect that peace would be secured by a temporizing concession to an insatiate thirst for rule. Lord Wellesley, although vexed and harassed by a series of occurrences that acquired weight from the circumstances under which they arose, and the manner in which they were pressed, happily pursued those political views which his foresight had prescribed. He repudiated that unhealthy course of political pusillanimity founded upon the erroneous application of the parliamentary declaration against Indian conquests; a declaration made under circumstances

cumstances the exact opposite to what now existed, and which put forth a truism practically inapplicable and inconsistent with the safety of our Indian empire.

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By the measures of Lord Wellesley, that empire was placed upon a basis which short-sighted policy or positive imbecility could alone weaken or remove.

As the measures of Lord Cornwallis in 1792 had not been free from censure in Parliament, it was not to be expected that the government of Marquis Wellesley would escape condemnation. We accordingly find that the Earl of Moira, who, as Lord Rawdon, had animadverted upon the war of 1792, again stood forward to arraign the acts of Lord Wellesley's administration, which had, as he conceived, led to the excessive increase and extension of the territorial possessions in opposition to the parliamentary declaration, which denounced as "unjustifiable, measures of making war for conquest." Lord Moira gave the best refutation of his own views, and of the arguments by which he supported them, in his subsequent conduct as governor-general; in which position he had an opportunity of learning, how far more valuable experience is than theory, in leading to a right judgment on measures, which it is easy to denounce when positive ignorance prevails regarding the circumstances that gave rise to them.

But the most direct attack against the Marquis Wellesley,

1805. Wellesley, was founded upon his lordship's measures on the affairs of Oude; a subject which has been an unceasing source of disquietude to each succeeding head of the British Government in India. Oude was the first state with which a subsidiary alliance was formed, and that almost at the commencement of the Company's political existence in Bengal. The vicissitudes experienced by the Vizier, occasioned considerable embarrassment to his finances. The subsequent agreements he entered into with the Company (whether right or wrong is not now the question) were felt to be most onerous. To discharge his obligations, he had recourse to various means for raising funds, and amongst others, to Europeans. The Company did not feel bound at that time to enquire from whence his resources were derived, or whether the parties had been reimbursed the advances which they might have made. But when it became apparent that the defenceless state of the Vizier's country, which formed a barrier to the Company's territories, exposed the latter to the easy inroad of an enemy, measures were devised to guard against so serious an event.

The defence of Oude had become to the British Government a measure of self-preservation; treaties were formed, a subsidiary force of a stipulated amount provided, and an agreement entered into for its payment by the Vizier. Individual claims for the repayment of monies lent to that state were preferred;

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preferred; but, whether in the belief that they were founded on usurious, or other apparently objectionable basis, the Government declined to promote their settlement, declaring to the Vizier that they purposely abstained from all interference; an intimation that afforded a sufficient plea, to a mind insensible to the obligations of honour or justice, for not listening to their settlement. Time rolled on, troops were supplied, and the payments were sometimes in arrear; whilst the condition of the country, and the principles upon which it was governed, called loudly for interposition and reform. These measures were repeatedly urged on the Indian Government by the Home authorities. Lord Wellesley saw it was in vain to expect that any other than a decided course could effect an improvement. It may be true, that the Vizier shed tears when he found that the means of gratifying his inordinate desires of cupidity and self-indulgence were likely to be curtailed: but to dignify the grief of so heartless a ruler, as evincing a "wounded pride and fallen greatness," was ascribing to him feelings to which, however void of merit in themselves, he still was an entire stranger.

Whatever character may have been given to the treaty effected by Lord Wellesley, it was open to the Home authorities to have revised or annulled it; but neither step was adopted. The Secret Political Committee entirely approved of

 its

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its provisions; the stipulations were considered calculated to improve and secure the interests of the Vizier as well as those of the Company, and to provide for the good government and prosperity of Oude. The ceded territory, on the part of the Vizier, did not exceed the subsidy payable by him to the Company; the Governor-general nevertheless liberated his excellency from all extraordinary charges that might be incurred in providing for the internal as well as the external security of his kingdom—a measure entirely approved by the Secret Committee. Such was the deliberate confirmation and sanction given by the King's government, in November 1803, to the measures of Marquis Wellesley in the affairs of Oude, under the treaties and agreements of February and June 1802.

The Chairman of the Court of Directors, as one of the three members who formed the Secret Committee, and who were bound to forward the despatch as sent down by the Board of Control, declared that he did so ministerially, and recorded his dissent in the secret department, declaratory of his sentiments.

Affairs of Oude.

More than three years had elapsed since the conclusion of the treaty with Oude, when the subject was made matter of charge against Marquis Wellesley in Parliament, by an individual, who, it might be supposed, would have been the last party to come forward as the public accuser of

of a nobleman, to whom he owed more than a common debt of gratitude.

1805.

Mr. Paull.

Mr. James Paull had been for some time resident at Lucknow, in the prosecution of commercial pursuits. From some cause which does not appear, he was sent out of the kingdom of Oude by order of the Vizier. This act, if persevered in, would have involved his affairs in utter ruin. Through the intervention of the Governor-general, the prohibition was removed, and Mr. Paull acknowledged his deep obligations to Marquis Wellesley in the following letter, addressed to Major Malcolm, then secretary to the Governor-general:

Lucknow, 9th February 1803.

MY DEAR SIR:

I have not troubled you with any letter since I had the happiness of seeing you in Calcutta. I am fully aware how much your time is occupied with real business, and I am unwilling to appear obtrusive. I trust, however, that you will believe that I retain, and ever shall, a very sensible impression of your kindness to me, and of the very important services you rendered me. To your zeal I attribute my being now at Lucknow; for I feel and believe that, without your support, I must have been recalled when the Nabob so unexpectedly and unaccountably remonstrated against my being allowed to return to his dominions. As the most pernicious consequences must have attended a compliance with the very unjust request of his highness, I feel a proportionate degree of obligation to you, and a sense of gratitude that nothing can diminish. Interested as you have shown yourself in my welfare, it will give you pleasure

1805. to hear, that ever since I was restored to the good graces of the Nabob, he always treats me, when we meet (which by the bye is seldom) with great attention and kindness, and that I consequently carry on my extensive concerns quietly and unmolested. I live mostly with Colonel Scott, and, unless on days of state and ceremony, I have nothing to do with the Nabob or his court.

After the flattering approbation of four successive residents, and conscious that I had never given the Vizier any cause of complaint, the knowledge of his application, which I did not learn until some time after my reaching Lucknow, could not fail to excite my utmost astonishment; however, the application was suggested by others, and I shall not trouble you now with the plan that was laid for my undoing. I am convinced, since, the Nabob has felt both shame and sorrow for his ill-founded rancour against me, and has often subsequently attempted an intimacy, from which I have as invariably shrunk; *for he is a very dangerous, and, I believe, a very bad man.* Knowing with what satisfaction his Excellency the Governor-general, on all occasions, remedies any injuries that are made known to him, I some time ago took the liberty (which perhaps I ought not to have done) of addressing his lordship directly, pointing out a very serious and extensive injury that I experience, in common with others, from the conduct of the government custom-masters, but which was and is most particularly injurious to me, from the magnitude of my exports from Oude. I presume to trouble you with a copy of my letter, and you will add to the many obligations I owe you, if at a spare moment you would give me your advice and opinion, as to the proper channel for again representing the grievances I labour under, and which are increased in a tenfold degree lately; indeed so vexatious, heavy, and arbitrary are the exactions at Ghauzipour, where no rate of valuation of any kind

kind is defined, that they almost compel me to stop business altogether, and any direct complaint against Mr. Ryder, would only render things worse.

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I sincerely hope and trust, that I have not offended his Excellency, in the mode I adopted of transmitting my address to his lordship. Colonel Scott, to whom I submitted it, thought it out of his department, and my friend Sydenham acquainted me, that direct communication with Lord Wellesley was the best. If therefore I have offended, it was most unintentional; *for sensibly do I feel the obligations I am under to his excellency, for whom I have only sentiments of gratitude and profound respect.*

I have had late letters from George Johnstone,* and from your friend Miss Sophia; the latter particularly mentions your relations and my friends in Gower-street. I have not failed on every occasion to state to the Johnstones, and Sir William, my obligations to you.

George had a very keen contest for Hedon, not for his own seat, for he came in, in the room of Sir Lionel Darell:† but to bring in Mr. Randal Jackson‡ in the room of Mr. Saville; the weight of the money fell on George and his uncle, for Jackson has not a penny. Very large sums were expended at several places, particularly at Grantham, and in the contest for Herefordshire, where the old members were ousted. I am with great esteem and attachment,

My dear Sir,

Very faithfully yours,

(Signed) J. PAULL.

Mr.

* Originally opposed to Lord Wellesley, but who now dissuaded Mr. Paull from following up the course he had adopted.

† A Director of the Company.

‡ A barrister, who spoke frequently in the Court of Proprietors, and died in 1837, leaving a large fortune.

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Mr. Paull's charges against Marquis Wellesley.

Mr. Paull reached this county in 1805, and shortly afterwards obtained a seat in Parliament. On the second day of his attendance in the House, he opened his design of "prosecuting to conviction, if possible, the Marquis Wellesley, to whom he imputed all the dangers that threatened our existence in India." He accordingly moved for a mass of documents, relative to the affairs of Oude.

Parliament was dissolved in the early part of 1807, and put a temporary stop to the proceedings; but Mr. Paull had placed upon the votes of the House an *exparte* view, contained in a Resolution condemnatory of Lord Wellesley. At the general election, Mr. Paull, assuming on the supposed popularity that he had acquired, and having obtained access to Sir Francis Burdett, who was not then a candidate for Parliament, but whose countenance he knew would aid his views, came forward as a candidate for Westminster. The unsuspecting candour of Sir Francis Burdett appears to have been awakened, and he declined to be dragged forward as the great Katerfelto in support of Mr. Paull. The latter felt heavily aggrieved, and concluded himself authorized to repay the unmerited confidence he had already experienced at the hands of the hon. baronet by seeking his life. Sir Francis Burdett, who, throughout an extraordinary stormy political course never appears to have been the party to demand what is termed satisfaction, felt constrained, in deference

He demands satisfaction from Sir F. Burdett.

to

to the tyrant custom and the laws of honour, to hazard his life and meet his enemy. Both parties were wounded on the second fire.

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Duel, and both wounded.

Sir Francis Burdett was chosen as one of the members for Westminster. Mr. Paull did not again obtain a seat in Parliament: and in the following spring terminated his own existence! The subject of the charges was not, however, allowed to pass away with its unfortunate mover; it found a supporter in Lord Folkestone, whilst other points in Lord Wellesley's administration were brought forward by another member. Various motions, criminatory of the noble marquis, were submitted, but rejected by large majorities. At length, Sir John Anstruther moved a Resolution, "That the Marquis Wellesley, in his arrangements regarding Oude, had been actuated by an ardent zeal for the service of his country, and an ardent desire to promote the safety, interests, and prosperity of the British empire in India." It was carried by 189 to 29, and closed a proceeding which had been kept pending for a period of three years, during which time the character of that nobleman was held up to the public as stained with acts of the greatest atrocity, which, in a degree, gained belief, from the ignorance that pervaded the country on all subjects connected with the affairs of India, and from opinions expressed by members of the Direction who had seats in the House of Commons, which opinions were

Suicide of Mr. Paull.

Charges continued.

Resolution in favour of Lord Wellesley.

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were opposed to the general principles of policy adopted by Lord Wellesley in administering the affairs of the Company abroad.

Remarks.

Such was the return which Marquis Wellesley met with on revisiting his native land, after rendering services which had called forth the repeated thanks of Parliament, and had added to the dominion of the British Crown vast and valuable territorial possessions, increasing its political influence, and opening extended fields of commercial enterprise to its subjects.

Marquis Wellesley's subsequent career in Europe.

It would be departing from the intention of this work to follow out the European career of this distinguished nobleman, to whom the foreign seals were offered during the progress of the Parliamentary proceedings; but his lordship felt it to be incompatible with his honour to hold office, until judgment had been pronounced on the charges brought against him, on a subject however unjustly opened, or by whatsoever means supported.

After this lengthened exclusion from the service of his sovereign, and proceedings which had caused him great personal cost, Marquis Wellesley was deputed, in 1809, as ambassador to the Junta in Spain. During that embassy, his lordship had an interview of some days with his illustrious brother, then in the command of the British troops; an incident of much interest in the history of these noble and distinguished relatives, who were again found, at the distance of twelve thousand miles from

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from the former scenes of their eminent services, devoting the same talents and unparalleled qualifications to uphold the honour of their country, and to secure the general welfare of Europe.

Lord Wellesley received the order of the Garter from his Majesty King George the Third, in 1810, in which year his lordship, on the death of the Duke of Portland, was recalled from Spain, and appointed Secretary of State for foreign affairs. In 1821, he proceeded as Lord-lieutenant to Ireland, thus again following in the footsteps of his early and illustrious friend, the Marquis Cornwallis; and remained in Ireland until 1828. His lordship proceeded again as Viceroy in 1833, and resigned that office on the retirement of Viscount Melbourne in November 1834.

CHAPTER X.

1805.
Political authority of the Court of Directors.

THE power exercised by the executive body of the East-India Company, in the conduct of the political affairs connected with the administration of India, was at times felt irksome by the controlling authority at home, and by the government abroad.

The leading member in the Home councils at this period, was a gentleman who had served long and honourably in the Bengal civil service. He was so peculiarly distinguished for his extensive and intimate acquaintance with the Company's affairs, that his competitors for a seat in the Direction retired from the contest, and yielded to him the undisputed suffrages of the proprietors. He had been in India during the government of Marquis Cornwallis, and entertained for his lordship's principles and policy a feeling in common with many others, little short of veneration.

When the severe but temporary pressure upon the finances of the Company was felt by the Court, they attributed the cause to a departure from the restrictive policy laid down by Parliament, and supported by the Company. A policy which has been

been proved to be entirely at variance with the maintenance of our supremacy in India: a supremacy essential to the existence of our power there.

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Lord Cornwallis again appointed Governor-general and Commander-in-chief.

Under these circumstances, it was natural that the Court of Directors should again desire to place at the head of their affairs the venerable nobleman, who was considered to be the founder of the system best calculated to secure the safety of the Company's territorial possessions, and well fitted to promote the general prosperity of their affairs, and to restore to a healthy state their financial resources.

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Lord Cornwallis, whose unceasing devotion to the interests of his country had fully entitled him to pass the remainder of his days in honourable retirement, nevertheless responded to the call of the Court, and consented once more to assume the offices of governor-general and commander-in-chief. His lordship entered upon his government on the 31st July 1806. After instituting enquiries into the general state of affairs, and effecting some preliminary arrangements for the public service, he caused letters to be dispatched to each of the native courts, in which reference was made to the principles that had guided his former administration; and an assurance given of his desire for the restoration of peace and harmony between the respective states and the British Government.

Assumes the government.

Financial difficulties.

His lordship then addressed the Court of Directors. In detailing the steps which he had pursued, he

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he pointed out the embarrassed state of the finances; he represented that there were five months' arrears due to the army; and that he had consequently been under the necessity of taking out of the ships, at Madras, treasure amounting to £250,000, intended for the investment in China. To effect a speedy reduction in the general charge, he intended to abolish a considerable part of the irregular troops, and to effect an accommodation with Scindiah and the Mahrattas. He accordingly left Calcutta for the Upper Provinces on the 9th August. When at Rajhmal he again wrote to the Directors, and expressed an opinion that the ascendancy of the British influence at the courts of Poonah and Hyderabad, was owing to the ill effects of the subsidiary alliances with those powers; and dwelt upon the large expense of the irregular force, and the pressure of the pecuniary embarrassments. His earnest desire for peace led him, notwithstanding Scindiah's retention of Mr. Jenkins, to open a negotiation on the basis of restoring to that chieftain the fortress of Gwalior and the territories of Gohud. Fortunately, Lord Lake had effected the release of the resident, before the receipt of the Governor-general's letter: the most serious effects might otherwise have been produced, by such apparent submission on the part of the supreme British authority. The changes in the Bengal Government, under these circumstances, was an event calculated to induce

Political views questionable.

1806.

induce a belief on the part of the Mahratta chiefs, that the altered course of policy was not produced by any want of means, financially or otherwise, on the part of the Government, but proceeded from the spontaneous determination of the Governor-general. The Rajah of Berar actually construed the communication into an intention of his lordship to make restitution of the territory which he had been deprived of in 1793!

Lord Lake, having received full and minute instructions regarding the treaty which the Governor-general desired to effect with Scindiah, despatched Colonel Malcolm, who had arrived at head-quarters under instructions from Marquis Wellesley, in June, to the court of Dowlut Row Scindiah, where, in conjunction with Moonshee Kavil Nyne, he concluded a defensive treaty of alliance on the 22d of November.

Cessions to Scindiah.

Although Scindiah's right under the treaty of Surjee Angengaum, to possess the fortress of Gwalior and the territories of Gohud, was not in the slightest degree admitted; yet, from considerations of friendship, that fortress was now ceded to him, with a portion of the territories of Gohud. As a compensation for this cession, Scindiah was to relinquish, after January 1806, all right and claim to the pensions of fifteen lacs of rupees, granted to certain of his officers by the same treaty. He likewise ceded to the Company all the territory north of the Chumbul, which he had acquired by the

1806. the seventh article of the treaty of Surjee Angengaum; *viz.* the whole of the districts of Dholepoor, Baree, and Rajah Kerrah. The Company were to have no claim to any rule, tribute, revenue, or possessions, on the south bank. The talooks of Bhadek and Sooseraparah, on the banks of the Jumna, were to remain with the Company. From friendship to Scindiah, the Company were to grant him, personally and exclusively, the annual sum of four lacs of rupees, and to assign within their territories in Hindostan, a jaghire of two lacs of rupees per annum to Baezah Bye, his wife, and of one lac per annum to Chimmah Bye, his daughter. The Company engaged not to enter into any treaty with the Rajahs of Oodeypore in Mewar, Joudpore in Marwar, or Kotah in Malwa, nor with other chieftains tributaries of Scindiah, situated in those provinces; or to interfere in any shape with the settlement he might make with them.

In the event of the Company concluding a peace with Holkar, they engaged not to restore to him, or to desire to be restored to him, any of the possessions of the Holkar family in the province of Malwa, lying between the river Tapty and Chumbul, which might have been taken by Scindiah, who was to be at full liberty to make his own terms with Holkar, without the British Government interfering in any way, even if war should arise between the two chiefs.

The

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The flagitious member of Scindiah's Government, Sujree Row Ghautkia, was to be excluded from his councils and employ. Before this treaty had been concluded, the state of Marquis Cornwallis's health caused so much anxiety, that Sir George Barlow appointed Mr. Udny vice-president, and quitted Calcutta in September for the purpose of joining the Governor-general. His lordship was then in a most enfeebled state at Ghazeepore. His health rapidly declined, and he sunk under an exhausted frame, on the 5th of October, closing an honourable and virtuous career of public service, devoting the last moment of his life to the welfare of what his lordship believed to be the best interests of his country.

Death of Lord Cornwallis.

Sir George Barlow immediately succeeded under his provisional appointment, to the office of Governor-general, and Lord Lake again assumed that of commander-in-chief in India.

Sir George Barlow assumes the government.

Sir George Barlow had been fully apprized of the views and intentions of Marquis Cornwallis, and communicated the same to Lord Lake, when he followed up the instructions already given for the conclusion of the treaty with Scindiah.

Lord Cornwallis had explained to Lord Lake that it was his intention to dispose of the conquered countries southward and westward of Delhi, amongst some of the chieftains who had aided the British Government during the war, including the Rajahs of Macherry and Bhurtpore, on their agreeing to relinquish

Different views of Lord Lake and Sir George Barlow.

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relinquish the alliances they had formed with the Company in September and November 1803; by which, in the event of hostilities, mutual aid was to be given by each party. Lord Lake was strongly opposed to this measure. He felt that it would afford a pretext to the Mahrattas for maintaining a force in Hindostan, from which he was satisfied they ought to be excluded; and that it would likewise sanction them in their attacks on the petty states immediately westward of the Jumna, and evince a want of good faith towards them. An embarrassing question arose regarding the Rajah of Jeypore, whose territory divided Malwa from Hindostan. By a treaty formed with him on the 3d December 1803, mutual aid was to be extended in the event of the Rajah or the Company becoming involved in hostilities. The Rajah, instead of giving the aid which he was bound to furnish, rather gave countenance to the enemy. Nevertheless, Lord Lake despatched a communication to the Rajah's agent, in the hope of inducing his master to come forward. After this communication had been sent, Lord Lake received an intimation that the conduct of the Rajah had dissolved the treaty of alliance; he therefore determined to abstain from interfering in any attack which either Scindiah or Holkar might make on Jeypore. Similar orders were to be sent to the force which proceeded from Bombay under General Jones, then on the frontiers of the Rajah's territories. These intentions were not

not, however, made known to the Rajah, and as he subsequently joined the force of General Jones against Holkar, in October, the treaty of 1803 remained undisturbed.

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Lord Lake pointed out to Sir George Barlow the importance of stipulating with Scindiah in favour of the Rajah of Boondee, whose capital commanded an important pass towards the territory of the Rajah of Kotah, Zalim Sing, who had rendered much important aid in the retreat of Colonel Monson;* but Sir George Barlow declined to alter his determination, or to modify his resolutions. Lord Lake pursued Holkar to the banks of the Beyah river, one of the five which form the Punjaub, where he sent to the commander-in-chief to sue for peace.

Sir George Barlow announced to the Court of Directors the treaty with Scindiah. He stated that perfect tranquillity existed throughout the Company's possessions, and that he considered a permanent peace would be best secured by contracting the British frontier to the Jumna, and in having no political engagements whatever beyond that river, excepting treaties of amity. Holkar had been driven beyond the Sutlej, and would not be able to maintain himself in the Punjaub without exciting Runjeet Sing. In another letter from Allahabad, he announced the intended dissolution of the defensive alliances with Jyneghur, Bhurtpore, and Macherry.

Lieut.-

* *Vide* page 349.

1806.
Treaty with Holkar.

Lieut.-colonel Malcolm was again selected to negotiate peace with Holkar, on terms prescribed by the Governor-general, which he concluded on the 24th December 1805. Hostilities were to cease, and friendship to be restored. Holkar renounced all right and title to the districts of Tonk, Rampoorah, Boondie, Lakherie, Sameydee, Bhaumgaum, Dase, and other places north of the Boondee hills, occupied by the British Government. The Company agreed to have no concern with the ancient possessions of the Holkar family in Mewar, Malwa, and Harowtee, or with any of the Rajahs south of the Chumbul, (including the ancient possessions of the Holkar family in the Deccan, occupied by the Company, south of the Tapty,) excepting the fort and pergunnah of Chandore, the pergunnahs of Ambar and Seagham, and the villages of pergunnahs south of the Godavery, remaining in possession of the Company. In consideration of the respectability of the Holkar family, the Company agreed that, after the expiration of eighteen months, should the conduct of Holkar prove the sincerity of his peaceable and amicable intentions, the fort of Chandore, &c. should be restored to him. He renounced all claim to the district of Koonch, in Bundlecund, and all claims of every description in that province; but in two years, if his conduct were amicable, the district of Koonch was to be given in jaghire to Bheemah Bhye, the daughter of Holkar. He renounced all claims

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claims on the Company or their allies; he was not to entertain in his service Europeans of any description, nor to admit into his counsels or service Surjee Row Ghautkia. He was to return to Hindostan by a route which would leave Pattialah, Jeypoor, and the Company's country, on the left. By declaratory articles of the 2d February 1806, the Company, desirous of gratifying the Maharaja, Holkar, to the fullest extent, relinquished all claim to Tonk Rampoorah. The strongest testimony was borne by Lord Lake to the conduct of Colonel Malcolm, who was retained by his lordship in consequence of several political discussions with Holkar, combined with numerous unsettled points regarding the irregular corps. At the close of the month of March, Colonel Malcolm returned to Calcutta. The Government acknowledged Lord Lake's letter regarding Colonel Malcolm, in the following terms:

We have great pleasure in expressing our high approbation of the activity, diligence, ability, and judgment, manifested by Lieut.-colonel Malcolm in the discharge of the arduous and important duties connected with the arrangements for the reduction of the irregular troops, and for the assignments of rewards and provisions for such individuals as had received promises, or had established claims upon the Government by their conduct during the war; and we concur in opinion with your lordship, that Lieut.-colonel Malcolm has accomplished the objects of your lordship's orders in a manner highly honourable to the reputation, and advantageous to the interests of the British Govern-

2 D 2 ment;

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ment; and we consider that officer to have rendered important public services, by his indefatigable and successful exertions in the accomplishment of these important arrangements. We entirely approve your lordship's intention of permitting Lieut.-colonel Malcolm to return to the Presidency, when his services shall no longer be required by your lordship.

Colonel Malcolm represented the opinions entertained by Lord Lake on various points connected with the reduction of the countries westward of the Jumna, which led Sir George Barlow to postpone acting upon his intention, of immediately announcing the dissolution of the treaties of alliance with the states: circumstances ultimately set aside the measure altogether.

Sir George Barlow's views.

The policy of Lord Cornwallis contemplated important modifications in the treaties, both with the Nizam and the Peishwa, almost to the extent of abolishing the subsidiary alliances with those states. Such views had been thrown out in a despatch from the Secret Committee of the 1st of June to the Governor-general in Council. But Sir George Barlow most wisely observed, that, if receding from power and influence was considered to be dangerous, it was much more so when the motives of the British Government, for pursuing a line of moderation had been industriously misrepresented, to the injury of our power: he was aware that these views were opposed to non-interference, which had of late been so strongly urged from home; but it was evident that

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that neither state was in a condition to support itself under such an important change, the benefits of which, in any point of view, were by no means apparent.

The wishes of the Peishwa had been misinterpreted by the Home authorities, who conceived, with reference to his original indisposition to the subsidiary treaty, that he desired its abrogation, whereas the fact was directly the reverse: he sought for no modification, but was anxious for the maintenance of its stipulations. The injury and embarrassment that would have followed on its cessation, were fully pointed out. Sir George Barlow entertained the greatest respect for the opinions of his noble and lamented predecessor. He desired to manifest every attention to the views expressed from England, but he felt that there was a still paramount obligation imposed upon him, *viz.* that of maintaining the supremacy of the British rule, which would have been placed at imminent hazard had he acted upon the principles of non-interference, so strongly pressed upon his attention.

Proceedings of Court of Directors on the death of Lord Cornwallis.

The intelligence of the death of Lord Cornwallis reached the Court of Directors in the month of February 1806. It was received by them with feelings of the deepest concern. They manifested every mark of respect for his lordship's memory, and,

1806.

and, in testimony of the sense entertained by the Company of the great benefit derived to their affairs and to the interests of India from his lordship's services, and as a mark of their grateful sense of the same, his lordship's son and heir, Viscount Brome, was presented with the sum of £40,000. The Chairman gave notice to the Court of Directors, on the 12th February, that on the 19th of that month he should bring under their consideration the state of the government of Bengal. On the 14th Lord Minto, then president of the Board of Control, addressed the Chairs, and suggested that Sir George Barlow should be immediately appointed governor-general; but intimated, at the same time, that it was to be *viewed only as a temporary appointment*, prompted by the exigency of a particular moment in the first days of a new administration.

Death of Mr. Pitt.

Mr. Pitt died on the 23d January, when Lord Grenville was nominated first lord of the Treasury, and Mr. Fox secretary of state for Foreign Affairs. Lord Minto succeeded Lord Castlereagh as president. Sir George Barlow was appointed, by the unanimous resolution of the Court of Directors, governor-general on the 19th February. At an interview which the Chairs had with Lord Minto at the Board on the 7th March, the Earl of Lauderdale was named for the permanent successor of Lord Cornwallis, as governor-general. A correspondence ensued between the Board and the

Lord Lauderdale proposed as Governor-general.

1806.

the Court, when, in a letter from the President to the Chairs of the 12th May, the principle of the King's ministers having an individual in their confidence as governor-general, was forcibly urged. They claimed at the hands of the Court the same degree of credit and deference which it had been the happy system and practice of the Court to give to the King's Government in similar cases, and again named Lord Lauderdale. The Court, however, declined to rescind their appointment of Sir George Barlow; the King was, therefore, advised to revoke that nomination. It was, accordingly, intimated to the Directors by Lord Minto on the 29th May, that his Majesty had vacated Sir George Barlow's appointment. The Court presented a strong remonstrance against this proceeding on the part of his Majesty's ministers, in the exercise of the power of recall, and pointed out how entirely it nullified the power vested in the Court. Lord Minto stated, in reply, his reasons for not protracting the discussion,—that he was ready to assist in maintaining the right of the Court to appoint: at the same time the power of revocation was equally clear, both in the Crown, and the Court. His lordship disclaimed the allegation, that Ministers wished to arrogate the exclusive right of appointment, and fully subscribed to the remark of the Court, that it had been usual for them to have an understanding with his Majesty's ministers, and to consult their opinions and

Sir George Barlow's nomination revoked.

1806.

and wishes, and added, that the appointment of a successor was of urgent importance. After conference with a deputation from the Court, and some further proceedings, Lord Minto himself was appointed, on the 9th of July 1806, governor-general.

Lord Minto appointed Governor-general.

Sir George Barlow returned to Calcutta, from the Upper Provinces, in February 1806. In July, the Supreme Government replied to the Court's letter, animadverting upon the mode in which the general course of business had been carried on during the preceding government. They represented that the members of Council had full cognizance of, and entirely concurred in the measures of Marquis Wellesley, and that the rapidity of events, with the multiplicity of matters which pressed themselves upon their attention, might have prevented their observance of the strict letter, although the entire spirit of the system was adhered to. That it had been impossible to place the despatches in exact order upon record, but every thing had been transacted in full communication with the Council.

Sir George Barlow apprized the Chairman, in March, that there was every fair prospect of a restoration of the Indian finances if peace continued, and that he did not entertain a doubt that there would be a million surplus in 1807-8. Various questions arose, and amongst them claims of Scindiah on the Guicowar, which, on inquiry, appeared

peared to have been wholly satisfied. The Cutch rajah, Futti Mahomed, who was originally a private horseman, ultimately assumed the government in 1792. In 1806, he sought aid from the Company, in attempting to regain his authority, which had been usurped by some of his rebellious subjects, in conjunction with pirates and plunderers. The Governor-general desired that an amicable answer should be returned to the Rajah, but deemed it unadvisable to take any part in the affairs of that country.

1806.

Dissensions had arisen amongst the Rajpoot chieftains, but as the Company's possessions were in a state of perfect tranquillity, the Government declined all interference in the settlement of their disputes. The Peishwa having evinced a desire to revive the offices of Vakeel-ul-mulluk, or viceroy of Hindostan, the Government deemed it prudent to dissuade his highness from such an idea. An insurrection broke out in Caubul, the King being involved in disputes with his nephew; he was constrained to pay a ransom to Runjeet Sing, who was engaged in the siege of Moultan, which belonged to Caubul. The province of Berar suffered severely from two inroads by Scindiah's Pindarrees in May and June 1807.

CHAPTER XI.

1803. Lord William Bentinck at Madras.

The appointment of Lord William Bentinck as governor of Madras, his arrival at Fort St. George, with the communication from the Governor-general on that occasion, and his lordship's reply have been already noticed.*

Lord William Bentinck had warmly supported the measures for bringing the operations in the Deccan to a successful termination. The Governor-general wrote to the Court of Directors in December 1803: "From Lord William Bentinck, since his lordship's arrival in India, I have experienced the most cordial and invariable support and co-operation." When the force in the Deccan was broken up, and the operations against Holkar confined to Hindostan, Lord William Bentinck, after forming a *corps de réserve,* zealously devoted his undivided attention to the internal affairs of his own government.

1804. Affairs of Tanjore.

One of the first subjects which engaged his lordship's particular notice, were the evils that had arisen in the administration of Tanjore. That country

* *Vide* pages 308 and 310.

1804.

country was placed under the entire management of the Company in 1800. Its revenues had fallen short in the year 1803, from a violent inundation. The attention of the collector in the district had been favourably noticed by the Government on his effecting the introduction of the Company's authority throughout the province: it had been arranged, that when the existing system of leases was abolished, a system of money rent should be introduced. Before measures could be adopted for effecting this revision, a combination had been formed amongst the native servants of the Collector and the Meerassidar* of the provinces, which had caused considerable dilapidation in the public revenue. A committee being ordered to investigate the extent of the alleged frauds, it appeared that in two years and a-half they amounted to three lacs ten thousand pagodas. Captain (now Major-general) Blackburne, who was subsequently resident at Tanjore, formed one of the committee; his conduct was highly applauded by Lord William Bentinck, his zeal and perseverance having led to the discovery. A general combination had taken place between the servants of the circar and the landholders to defraud the Government of its revenue; they had been carrying on a system of one continued series of corruption, exaction, and oppression; a sale of justice, a violation of all public and private rights; and had been guilty of every

Frauds in the administration of its affairs.

* The holder or possessor of a heritage.

1804.

every malpractice that could by possibility disgrace a government or a people. Lord William Bentinck remarked, that "when it was considered the province had not long since been transferred from the rajah, whose system of government, together with that of all the other rajahs, was the constant theme of our condemnation, we could not but feel mortified that an administration under British superintendence, should not have a more just title to the confidence and respect of the natives."

Opinion of Lord William Bentinck on the causes.

Without further enquiry (observed his lordship), I deem it to be my duty to stand up in the defence of a principle upon which rests all security for the delegation of great trust and great confidence; I mean the principle of responsibility.

Acting upon this principle, his lordship proposed that the collector, to whom it appeared these frauds were unknown, should with all his assistants be recalled. The collector asserted, that it arose not from a defect in government, but in the unaltered vice of the people. "I do not see it made out," observed Lord William Bentinck;

I am inclined to believe that there is much depravity in Tanjore, and this will always be found where there has existed a long oppressive despotism: cunning, deceit, and falsehood, are the only means of refuge to the weak from powerful extortion.

The collector flogged and banished the native who

1804.

who would have exposed corruptions notorious to all but collectors. Timidity was inherent in the native character, and no complaint would be lodged, nor would natives dare to prefer one against a revenue-servant, if the power of the collector, in countries not permanently settled, was completely arbitrary: hence every thing depended upon the collectors. It was admitted that there was not a more zealous public servant: but he entertained an abhorrence of the native character, and his administration of justice was marked by severity. Lord William Bentinck stated, that it was not only necessary to be just, but most important that the people should have confidence in the collector's justice and protection, and this the people of Tanjore had not.

The sentiments of his lordship will be responded to by all who justly estimate the value of a pure and upright government, alive to the prejudices of the natives; but at the same time prepared to combat evasion and unfounded pleas to indulgence. The Court of Directors designated his lordship's minute as both able and judicious, and as anticipating most of the material observations contained in the Report from the Commissioners of Inquiry: "Concurring, therefore, in every sentiment expressed by his lordship, we have little more to add than to adopt these sentiments as our own."*

Concurrence of the Directors in Lord William Bentinck's views.

The

* Letter to Madras, November 1805.

1804.
Subjects which engage Lord William Bentinck's attention.

The state of the finances, the condition of Malabar and Canara, the conclusion of the subsidiary treaty with Travancore, the refractory spirit of the polygars, and the introduction of the judicial and revenue systems, were subjects which engaged the anxious deliberation of Lord William Bentinck, in communication with the Supreme Government.

Questions as to military patronage.

A point of some delicacy occasioned a difference of opinion between the civil members of the Government and General Stuart, regarding the exercise of military patronage. In order to prevent the recurrence of any such disagreement with succeeding commanders-in-chief, Lord William Bentinck requested the two civil councillors to draw a line respecting the patronage, without his interference. In accordance with the view which those gentlemen took, a resolution of Government was passed and sent home, for the confirmation of the Court of Directors.

Sir John Cradock contemplates resigning his appointment.

Major-general Sir John Cradock succeeded as commander-in-chief on the 17th October 1804. Shortly after his taking his seat as second in council, he addressed a communication to Lord William Bentinck. He represented the impossibility of his remaining in India under the resolution, just adverted to, on the subject of the military patronage; and declared his intention of immediately resigning the command of the army. Sir Arthur Wellesley, who happened to be at Madras, remonstrated

1804.

monstrated with Sir John Cradock upon the inexpediency of carrying his resolution into effect, but without success. Lord William Bentinck, utterly indifferent, so far as his personal feelings were concerned, to the exercise of patronage, more or less; anxious to preserve harmony in the councils of Government, as most conducive to the public interests, and to manifest that respect which he felt to be due to his Majesty's choice, offered to give up the whole of the patronage to the commander-in-chief, considering it immaterial in whose hands it was placed. The sentiments of his lordship's colleagues were, however, decidedly adverse to such a course, as they felt that the Government would be lowered by such concession. It was not without much difficulty that Sir John Cradock was finally prevailed upon to forego his intention of resigning the command, and to accept by *private* arrangement the whole of the patronage. He had urged his opinion, that the *public* transfer of it to his authority was necessary to the dignity of his situation: but the Government now felt that it became of little consideration what the original question had been: a deliberate resolution had been passed; to revoke it at the will of any individual would, it was felt, subject the conduct of Government to the charge of weakness, and the proposition was therefore rejected.

Lord William Bentinck's indifference as to patronage.

The sentiments of the Court of Directors, on the reference under the above Resolution, was commu-

Decision by the Court unacceptable to Sir John Cradock.

1804. communicated to the Madras government on the 30th July 1806. It laid down rules for their future guidance, and expressed a hope that the rules would be found sufficiently clear thenceforth to regulate their conduct on the subject of military patronage and military regulations, and to prevent the recurrence of discussions which it was of the utmost importance to avoid. To these rules Sir John Cradock strongly objected, deeming them to be highly detrimental to the service.

In 1804, the presidency having suffered from the dearth with which they were visited, Lord William Bentinck, to rescue the poor natives from the rapacity of the grain dealers, interposed, and by the most liberal and charitable hand, extended relief to the distressed villagers, to some gratuitously, and to all at a moderate rate. Rice was obtained from Calcutta to prevent the calamities and horrors of anticipated famine.

On the introduction of the judicial system, various questions arose upon points which rendered that system not exactly applicable in particular stations. In Malabar, Mr. Thomas Warden, whose services were of a most valuable character, pressed upon the attention of Government the necessity of modifying the resolutions on the powers of the collector, the grand principle of Lord Cornwallis having been to separate the revenue and judicial functions. Lord Wm. Bentinck replied: "You will find that the duties of the judge

1804.
Judicial and revenue system in Malabar.

judge and collector are most accurately defined in the judicial letter from the Supreme Government: and that the collector has all the powers which he can honestly desire." A copy of it was sent to Mr. Warden; it contained admirable regulations for the happiness of the people and the prosperity of the Company's Government; "interests which I should be sorry to suppose for a moment were separate and distinct." On intimating to Mr. Warden the re-transfer of a local corps to his orders, Lord Wm. Bentinck informed him, that having taken occasion to converse with General Wellesley on the subject of this and other local corps, his opinion was strongly in favour of such establishments, where the unhealthiness of the climate might make the employment of the regulars impossible, or where the face of the country from mountain and jungle should render the exertions of those not acquainted with irregular fighting of little avail. He also pointed out the probabilities that the peons engaged in our service would otherwise serve against us. "I give here," said Lord William, "the opinion of General Wellesley in preference to my own, because—

General Wellesley's opinion as to local corps.

I consider his authority on every point relating to the interests of this country, and more particularly in its means of military defence, to be undoubted and incontrovertible."

1805.
Lord William Bentinck's testimony to the merits of Mr. Thomas Warden.

Mr. Warden had been appointed, by the Madras Government, collector in Malabar. His standing in the service was not of sufficient length, according to

1805.

to the then existing law, to enable him to hold so high an office, with the allowances attached to it. The Court of Directors, naturally governed by the law, ordered the appointment to be cancelled. Lord Wm. Bentinck wrote to Mr. Warden:

> As bad news circulates rapidly, you may already have heard of it. It may be satisfactory to you to know that it is not my intention to execute these orders until I may have made a further appeal. It may be still more gratifying to you to know that this determination is founded on the success of your measures in Malabar, in restoring tranquillity, and in realizing the revenues. I cannot but consider that a continuance of these happy effects will be the result of the same zealous and prudent conduct. Never having seen you, it cannot be supposed that I am actuated by any personal partiality: the good of the public service is my whole and sole motive, and I feel no doubt that your future exertions will correspond with the past, and bear me out in the arduous responsibility which I have taken upon myself.

His lordship's zeal for the interests of the Company.

Writing to a member of the Direction, who filled the deputy chair when Lord Wm. Bentinck was appointed governor of Madras, his lordship adverted to various points connected with his administration, and observed:

> I cannot expect not to have done acts which may be disapproved, but I hope you will do me the justice to believe that I have acted with honest and hearty zeal for the interests of the East-India Company.

French influence.

Owing to the state of affairs in Europe, the French settlement of Pondicherry was retained under the Company's authority. Mr. Fallowfield had been instructed

1805.

instructed by the Government to take measures for establishing a court of justice there. His proceedings received the entire approbation of the Government. In selecting individuals, a M. —— was named, whose conduct had not been perfectly correct in a transaction which the governor, Lord Wm. Bentinck, did not immediately recollect, but it induced him to wish another gentleman to be nominated judge; and then, alluding to M. ——:

I understand him to be a very decided Frenchman, and to have said upon a former occasion, when the same situation was offered, that he could only accept it upon the condition that he should not be obliged *to take up spies* or agents of his own government. I do not know whether any such stipulation has been proposed upon the present occasion; but I have no difficulty in saying, that if, while he is in charge of the police, he knowingly permitted the prosecution of designs hostile to the Government, he ought to be hanged. I do not, at the same time, expect active agency, in this respect, against his own government, but we have a right to require his assistance in preventing such practices in Pondicherry at least, as we give to the inhabitants a great boon, law and justice: we could not give a greater to our own subjects; we only ask in return what, I think, they are bound, in honour and gratitude to give, a tacit assurance that they will not by themselves, or by their encouragement to others, engage in acts of hostility.

In a subsequent letter M. —— had consented to give a written declaration; Lord William Bentinck wrote: "I wish you to say to M. —— that I place entire reliance upon his honour,

 and

1805.

and will require no written agreement from him."

These communications tended to justify the importance attached by Marquis Wellesley to guard against the attempts at French influence.

Revenue and judicial systems.

The introduction of the revenue and judicial systems on the coast now became a question for the consideration and decision of the governments.

The zemindary system prevailed throughout Bengal; the permanent settlement being fixed with that class of landholders.

Under Madras there were the northern circars, the Company's ancient jaghire, the havelly lands, the pollams, and those which came under the denomination of the ceded territory.

The Home authorities had been desirous, in 1786, to extend the permanent settlement to the territories under Madras upon the same principles as obtained in Bengal, but they were unable, from want of sufficient data and other details, to prescribe any precise course of conduct. In the northern circars there were the zemindars, who presented a barrier to any effectual improvement, by opposing any detailed enquiry. It had been the wish of the Home authorities to reduce the military power of these zemindars, as a preliminary step; but the condition of the Company's finances, the face of the country, which presented obstacles to the employment of troops, and the contiguity of native powers, jealous of the extension

sion of the Company's authority, combined to render the measure impracticable. 1805.

A Board of Revenue was formed at Madras in June 1786, with whom the chiefs and councils corresponded. The servants, ignorant of the native languages, were in the hands of dubashes, who thus became instruments of rapine and extortion, under unprincipled masters. At Bombay there was still less ground of hope, to look with any confidence to manage the newly acquired cessions on the coast of Malabar. The districts of Salem and Kistnagherry, comprising the Baramahal and the provinces of Dindigul and Malabar, were ceded by Tippoo in 1792.

The civil servants at Madras, not possessing the requisite qualifications, Lord Cornwallis appointed Captain Read, with nine military assistants, to the revenue service, all of whom were well acquainted with the native languages, habits, and manners of the people. Their zeal and ability secured success to their labours. They applied themselves to acquire a knowledge of the native usages, as the only ground upon which they could rightly proceed in framing and settling a revenue system for the country. Their earliest investigation related to the customary division of the crop, the nature of the produce, and the manner of keeping the revenue accounts; tracing, as they proceeded in their enquiries, the origin and progress of every civil institution of the country; and connecting therewith,

1805. therewith, not only a particular examination into the theory, practice, and operation of the revenue management, which they found to exist under the Mahomedan rule of Hyder and Tippoo, but even while the Baramahal was under its Hindoo princes. This system became the general guide of the revenue authorities in other parts, Dindigul, Coimbatore, Canara, and in the Ceded districts. It was, in fact, the only system that enabled them to acquire the necessary information. The Havelly lands* were, at this time, separated from the authority of the chiefs and councils. In 1792 they were again subjected to that authority, until the arrival of Lord Hobart, who abolished the Provincial Councils, and made the collectors amenable to the Board of Revenue, with whom they immediately corresponded. This change was, in a great measure, produced by the representation of a very able officer at Madras, who compared the system with Bengal, where chiefs and councils had been abolished with that in the northern circars, where it prevailed. In the former was a well regulated and efficient system of revenue, and in the latter an unconnected jumble, without authority, subordination, arrangement, or regulation. Although invested with so important a charge of revenue administration, not one of the gentlemen in the provincial councils had ever acquired proficiency in any of the country languages, or pro-
posed

* Lands immediately under the management of Government.

posed any plan of general utility since the acquisition of the circars. The system pursued by Captain Read in the preceding year, was cited in proof of the important benefit that would accrue from the appointment of some seven or eight collectors, who would conduct themselves upon his principle.

1805.

When the Bengal Government, in 1799, issued instructions for a general revision of their establishments, with a view to reduction of expenditure, the revenue system was pointed out as demanding reform, the introduction of the system existing in Bengal being suggested. The Board of Revenue at Madras made an elaborate report in September 1799, which, mainly resting upon the arguments urged by the authorities in Bengal, suggested the adoption of a permanent settlement: sufficient attention had not been paid to the difference in time and circumstances between the land tenures of the two presidencies. The authority of the Supreme Government for a permanent settlement included not merely the circars, but the ancient possessions on the coast of Coromandel, as well as the territory since acquired.

The Court of Directors in consenting, so far as respected the lands on the coast, pointed out the measure, when once adopted, as irrevocable, both as regarded good faith to the natives, and the interest of the Company: still it did not appear that sufficient information was possessed so as to authorize

1805.

authorize the general extension of the permanent settlement. A commission had been appointed in 1799, to carry into effect the recommendation of the Board of Revenue, in the districts composing the northern circars, within 1802 and 1804. The Havelly lands were sold, subject to a zemindary jumma. The Guntoor circar was assessed with reference to the average of the preceding thirteen years, and such other information as could be obtained. The permanent settlement was introduced in the jaghire, and in other of the Company's ancient possessions, in 1802. A considerable portion of those more recently acquired had been held by polygars, or military chieftains, but the largest part had been under the control of the native government. From the impracticability of entering into a detailed plan of management, the lands were, in the first instance, farmed out on the principle which generally prevailed in the country to individuals who stood somewhat in the character of polygars. As soon as circumstances admitted, village settlements were made, a certain rent being agreed upon with its head inhabitants, who sub-let to the ryots with whom they settled. The renters were required to give pottahs to the ryots, and not to take beyond the stipulated amount. But so long as this system lasted, it presented an effectual bar to an investigation into the defects and abuses in the land revenues. The records abound with instances of abuse and fraud practised by

Various settlements.

1805.

by the village renters, in conjunction with the curnums, in order to conceal the value. The intermediate agency of renters was ultimately set aside by the collector entering into separate engagements with every ryot or cultivator, situated within its boundaries, for the revenue he was to pay on account of the land he occupied. This mode of renting has been generally termed a *ryotwar* settlement. As it would inevitably lead to the exposition of all the oppressive influence and power exercised to enrich the landholders at the expense of the ryots, every possible opposition was given to its introduction; and nothing but the zeal, perseverance, and talent of the able functionaries who were the instruments of its introduction, rendered the measure in any degree effectual. With the support of the Government the confederated opposition of the potails was subdued, and their duties confined to collecting the rents from the ryots on account of the Government.

Ryotwar settlement.

The late Sir Thomas Munro was one of the principal instruments in carrying forward this important scheme. His plan of operations was detailed with great clearness in a report on a ryotwar settlement in November 1806, to the Government of Madras. A practical knowledge of the languages, pure intentions, clear understanding, and active habits of body and mind, were indispensable to make the ryots sensible of the vigilance and care of a collector under such a system; qualities which appear

1805. appear to have been eminently possessed by Col. Munro, Capts. McLeod and Graham, and by Mr. Hurdis, who were appointed by Lord Hobart.

Lord William Bentinck proceeds to Calcutta.

Lord William Bentinck felt so strongly that a permanent zemindary settlement, which had been ordered from Bengal, was unfitted for a large portion of the territories on the coast, that he determined to proceed to Calcutta, to procure by personal representation some modifications by which the ryotwar settlement might be continued. The Supreme Government passed an immediate decision in accordance with Lord William Bentinck's suggestions. His lordship returned to Fort St. George by the northern circars. He considered that the great advantage of the system was to be found in that most sure and certain of all human actions, self-interest. Every man would exert himself to increase his means; thence would arise the increase of cultivation, the only true criterion to judge of the prosperity of the country. It was upon this principle that his lordship wished to improve, by making that settlement permanent, which had been annual, with each ryot.

His lordship's views acceded to by the Governor-general.

1806.

Lord William Bentinck contemplates visiting Canara and Malabar.

Lord William Bentinck, in furtherance of his views, recorded a minute* expressing an opinion that the exact plan of a permanent settlement adopted in Bengal, was not, in his judgment, applicable to Madras, but that a ryotwar annual settlement, from which such vast advantage had arisen,

* January 1806.

1806.

arisen, ought to form the basis of the permanent settlement. His lordship had opened a correspondence with the collectors, and, in order to gain personal information by inspection, he purposed visiting Malabar and Canara, and the ceded districts, accompanied by Mr. William Thackeray, who prepared, by his lordship's desire, a paper detailing the objections to a zemindary, and the reasons in favour of a ryotwary settlement. This paper his lordship laid before the Board on the 29th April, and invited discussion in those quarters whose opinions were opposed to his own views. In the progress of these measures, Lord William Bentinck was constrained to abandon his intention of visiting Malabar and Canara by the state of public affairs at Madras. His lordship recorded a minute, in which regret was expressed that he felt it necessary to relinquish his tour to these distant provinces, both as it prevented him from benefiting by personal communication with the local instruments, and because he believed that the occasional presence of persons in authority is calculated to have a salutary influence over the conduct of subordinate officers: an opinion which his lordship held in common with Lords Cornwallis and Wellesley. The disappointment was more felt from the measure contemplated being one of great national importance. Mr. Thackeray was, therefore, deputed, at the recommendation of his lordship, for the purpose. That gentleman

Is prevented proceeding.

Records a Minute on the revenue affairs.

1806. gentleman submitted the result of his visitation in a most interesting report, made in August 1807. He remarked,

> That a ryotwary system is attended with some trouble and detail, and that the revenue officers must think and act a little to carry it on well; but all governments, all human affairs, are attended with some trouble and difficulty, and the more pains bestowed upon them, the better are they in general conducted. That mode of payment which promises most security to the government and to the ryot is the best, but all middle-men, farmers, contractors, and other intermediate agents, must get a profit, and generally a very great one, either openly or clandestinely, and the more of them there are the greater sum must be divided among them. But in India they are hardly ever content with their legitimate profit.

This was the system which had been condemned by Mr. Hastings.*

The principle advocated by Lord William Bentinck, and so strongly supported by the able functionary who had been deputed to act upon it and to investigate its results, was ultimately set aside by the introduction of the village-settlement in the year 1808. It was adopted in the conviction that the ryotwar settlement demanded too great a sacrifice, or remission of rent, and that the return to village-rents appeared to be best adapted to secure the revenue of the state, and the prosperity of the country. The resolutions of the Government went further: they declared that what

* *Vide* vol. i. page 419–423.

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what was termed Colonel Munro's system, involved a constant exercise of the domiciliary control, which it was the principal object of the permanent settlement to exclude, and they considered that Colonel Munro had not sufficiently appreciated the advantages of a zemindary settlement, which had been attended with great benefit, and had been free from most of the objections *supposed* by that officer!

Court of Directors concur in Lord William Bentinck's views on revenue affairs.

From some extraordinary and unexplained circumstance, the report of Mr. Thackeray, made in 1807, was not forwarded to the Court of Directors until February 1810. The Court expressed their displeasure at this great irregularity; but what proved still more unsatisfactory to them, and created great suspicion, was the circumstance that this valuable document was not taken into particular consideration by the Government when they discontinued the ryotwar mode of settlement. The Court were at a loss to imagine a reason, as the minutes of Lord William Bentinck of January and April 1806, referred in marked terms to the document, which established in their minds, convictions on some important points connected with the principles of the land-revenue administration under Madras; and they believed, that a dispassionate review of its contents would at least have had the effect of restraining the Government, from the adoption of any immediate change of the revenue system in operation. The observations confirmed

1806.

firmed the soundness of the views taken by Lord William Bentinck, upon which it was his lordship's intention to have acted had he not been abruptly removed from office.

To enter into a disquisition of this much discussed and interesting question, at the length it deserves, would be impossible within the limits of the present work.

The opinions which were supported by Lord William Bentinck and Colonel Munro, have stood the test of experience; the system founded upon them requires considerable personal labour, energy, and perseverance, with great intelligence. But so far from these qualifications presenting arguments against the system, they appear to plead in the strongest possible manner in its favour, as they are the very requisites for calling forth exertion and talents, in advancing the interests of the state and the welfare of the people.

Mutiny at Vellore.

The circumstance which interposed to preclude Lord William Bentinck from following up his intention of proceeding on the tour of inspection, was the mutiny which broke out at Vellore in the month of July 1806, an event that so deeply affected his lordship's interests and character.

The fortress of Vellore had been fixed upon at the termination of the Mysore war, in 1799, for the residence of the family of the late Tippoo Sultaun. The Court of Directors appear to have had some doubts whether Bengal might not have been

1806.

been, upon the whole, more eligible in point of security, from all possible effects likely to create disturbance; but it was not an opinion pressed against the arrangement which had been adopted.

Causes of dissatisfaction.

When Sir John Cradock entered upon the office of commander-in-chief, he found that there was no code of military regulations under the presidency of Madras. He accordingly submitted to the Governor, in March 1805, a proposition for the preparation of a code; and Major Pearce, the deputy-adjutant-general, was appointed by the commander-in-chief to prepare it. His excellency, in his representation to the Governor in Council stated, that he had it only in contemplation to reduce into one view the several orders that were already *in force*, and *sanctioned* by Government: but should any slight alteration appear obviously necessary, or should it be found requisite to introduce a few circumstances of discipline or interior economy, of the later practice in England, such *new matter* would be distinguished in the manuscripts to be submitted for the final approbation of Government.

The code was accompanied by a minute in which the commander-in-chief stated, that the whole of the regulations were comprised in twenty-seven sections, alphabetically arranged, and now submitted to Government. The additional orders to which his excellency requested the attention of the Board, as requiring the sanction of Government,

1806. ment, were then enumerated. It was thus obvious, that the only part to which the attention of the Government was required, was that enumerated by the commander-in-chief. The other part, being the *old and sanctioned regulations*, comprised in one hundred and fifty folio sheets, consisted of regimental orders respecting drill discipline and dress already in force, and sanctioned by Government. The duty of attending to that part which was enumerated by the commander-in-chief, devolved upon Lord William Bentinck as governor, and that duty his lordship most conscientiously discharged.

The tenth paragraph, although appearing now for the *first time in any military code*, had been inserted among the *old orders* which had received every necessary ratification, and of course it had no place in the list of those additional orders to which, as requiring the sanction of Government, the attention of the Board was requested by the commander-in-chief. The purport of the paragraph was as follows:

Offensive regulation unknown to Lord William Bentinck.

"The sepoys were required to appear on parade with their *chins clean shaved*, and the hair on the upper lip cut *after the same pattern*, and never to wear the distinguishing mark of caste, or their ear-rings, when in uniform. A TURBAN of a new pattern was also ordered for the sepoys."

The alterations thus instituted seemed, for a time, to be received by the sepoys with submission. The

The first symptoms of a spirit of insubordination appeared in the second battalion of the fourth regiment of Native Infantry, which then composed part of the garrison of Vellore. On the 6th and 7th of May, when called upon to wear the new turban, the battalion was most disorderly, and even mutinous, and it was only by severe measures that it was at last reduced to obedience.

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The existence of the tenth paragraph was now, for the first time, discovered as part of the regulations; the Government was accused of having sanctioned an order of which it was entirely ignorant. The commander-in-chief was immediately apprized of this omission in his original report to Government. He referred to Major Pearce, the deputy adjutant-general, to whom the task of arranging the *new* orders in a *separate* class had been officially assigned. That officer's defence was not only ample as regarded himself, but his bare statement of the facts also completely exculpated the Governor and Council.

The commander-in-chief caused a court of inquiry to be held, to report upon the causes which led to these acts of insubordination. In the interim, the non-commissioned officers who refused to wear the turban were ordered to be reduced to the ranks, and the immediate adoption of the turban by the disorderly battalion was imperatively insisted upon. "Disobedience was to be imme-

1806.

diately followed up by dismission." Such were the commander-in-chief's orders.

Result of court of inquiry.

The court of inquiry sentenced nineteen of the ring-leaders to punishment, of whom seventeen were pardoned, two being condemned to receive nine hundred lashes each. The evidence from all quarters (and also of two native officers of the highest caste, both Hindoos and Mussulmans), was in favour of the turban: and it was declared that the objection to it had no warrant in the religious prejudices of the people. Subordination at length appeared to have been restored; but on the 4th July the commander-in-chief sought the advice of Government on the expediency of revoking the order regarding '*the turban*,' as he had the strongest reasons to suppose almost universal objection arose against it, and that he also understood the sepoys were impressed with a belief that it was intended to convert them by force to Christianity. Still it was his wish, as the result of the best judgment he could apply to the subject, to persevere, and conquer prejudice; but he was not satisfied in his own mind to persevere to the full extent without the advice and sanction of Government. The Governor in Council regretted the first adoption of the measure, but agreed with the commander-in-chief, that it might now compromise the authority by whom it had been publicly put in force in such strong terms. Had it, however, militated against the religious prejudices, it

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1806.

was felt that not a moment's consideration would be required in revoking the order ; this did not at all appear to be the case. The Governor in Council accordingly proposed issuing a general order to the native troops, containing the most positive assurances that "no intention existed to introduce any change incompatible with the laws or usages of their religion." Previously to circulation, a copy was sent to the commander-in-chief, then absent from council. Sir John Cradock warmly approved of its spirit; but having been led to believe that the reports he had received were exaggerated, he considered its publication was no longer required: the order was, therefore, not published.

The government of Madras was at this time unapprised of the existence of any of the recent regulations *regarding dress, excepting the order for the turban.*

Mutiny breaks out.

On the 10th July, while Sir John Cradock's letter, above referred to, was on the road to Madras, the mutiny at Vellore broke out at two in the morning, by an attack on the European part of the garrison, consisting of four companies of H.M. 69th Regiment. Fourteen officers, including Colonel Fancourt, ninety-nine non-commissioned officers and privates, were massacred, and fifteen others died of their wounds.

A few days following this event, Lord William Bentinck stated to the Council, that he had only

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1806. been very lately informed of the recent changes in the dress of the sepoys, distinct from the new turban, and that the knowledge of this fact, and some advices from Vellore, induced him to propose the immediate suspension of the orders regarding the turban, the marks of caste, and ornaments of dress. The resolution, being passed, was transmitted to the commander-in-chief at Vellore. A circular letter was, at the same time, in accordance with the resolution, addressed by the commander-in-chief to all the commanding officers of divisions, and of the subsidiary forces at Hydrabad and Travancore; but in this letter the restoration of the old turban was only conditional, it being left to the option of the native officers and men to wear the new one. This clause was objected to by the Governor in Council, and the objection was deferred to by Sir John Cradock.

A special commission was appointed to inquire into the origin and causes of the mutiny. It appeared that the innovations in dress, and the residence of the Mysore family at Vellore, were the leading causes: that the plot was to have broke out on the 17th June. A communication to this effect had been made to an officer of the garrison by Mustapha Beg, a sepoy of the 1st battalion 1st regiment; but the native officers had succeeded in inducing a belief that Mustapha Beg was insane. He was presented, by order of Government, with two thousand rupees and a gold medal.

medal. Amongst the arrangements which followed, it was determined to send the Mysore princes to Bengal; they were accordingly embarked on board the *Culloden,* being sent down under an escort commanded by Colonel Gillespie, from Vellore.

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The impressions in different detachments of the army, that a design existed to destroy the Europeans, and to raise the Mysore power on the ruin of the British authority, was so strongly fixed, that the most exaggerated alarm was entertained. The question which immediately pressed for decision was, how to dispose of the mutineers at Vellore. A general court-martial was appointed by the commander-in-chief, to try those against whom there was indisputable evidence that they were deserving of death; the remainder, amounting to six hundred, were imprisoned in forts in the neighbourhood, until Government decided on the manner of disposing of them. A serious agitation occurred in the subsidiary force at Hydrabad, regarding the turban, and marks of caste, and ear-rings, and whiskers: the whole force of ten thousand men was thrown into disorder, and confidence seemed to have departed. The commanding officer, Colonel Montresor, with the concurrence of Captain Sydenham, the Resident, took upon himself the responsibility of revoking those orders. The spirit of tumult was instantly allayed.

On the 2d September the commander-in-chief submitted

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submitted to Government two propositions, which were strongly supported by the commanding officers of the southern and Mysore districts. The first, that the mutineers condemned to death by the native general court-martial should be executed in detachments at the different divisions of the army. To this measure, as indicating a suspicion of every part of the native army, *all* the members of the Council refused their assent. The second was the erasure of the guilty regiments from the army list. It received the approbation of the majority of the Council; but Lord Wm. Bentinck negatived it upon his own authority, believing that such a step would only serve to refresh for ever recollections, which it was wisdom to endeavour to extinguish. The Bengal Government was of a different opinion, and the erasure took place.

Differences as to the mode of dealing with the prisoners.

As a preliminary to the trial of the prisoners, the commander-in-chief had directed Lieut.-colonel Forbes and Lieutenant Coombs to investigate the *comparative* delinquency of the prisoners. Their report stated such a course to be impossible, as it pronounced all to be most deeply implicated. The question as to dealing with them was now, therefore, before the Government, as it was not believed that any one would be convicted before a court-martial for want of evidence. There were six hundred of them. The commander-in chief pressed for general banishment; the Bengal Government for a general amnesty; and Lord William

1806.

Wm. Bentinck recommended a temporary continuance of the imprisonment, as leaving scope for acting under such circumstances as might arise. In addition to the six hundred, another class of men, about five hundred, who had been fugitives from Vellore, claimed the attention of Government. To have let the whole loose by dismissal, in such a country, where designs of unprincipled individuals might be prosecuted with such facilities, was deemed most unadvisable. The Council, therefore, excepting the commander-in-chief, acceded to the opinion of the President, for a temporary continuance of imprisonment.

Admirable behaviour of Purneah in Mysore.

The apprehensions amongst the officers still continued at different stations. At that of Bangalore, the brother of Purneah, the celebrated minister, so highly applauded by Sir Arthur Wellesley,* held the principal official situation under the Mysore Government. He was suspected. Purneah made no attempt to screen his near relative, but immediately suspended him from office, and requested that his conduct might be submitted to the examination of a court, composed *solely of British officers*. This request of Purneah was complied with. The result proved most honourable to the accused. No method was omitted to repair the insult which had thus been offered to the fame of the Mysore Government. The commanding officer was removed, and the Government of Madras

* *Vide* page 366.

1806. dras made a request to Purneah that his brother might be reinstated in office.

Lord William Bentinck supports measures of lenity.

The most lenient measures had been tried, at the special recommendation of Lord Wm. Bentinck, who from circumstance felt his position to be peculiarly embarrassing. The commander-in-chief attributed to the favourite system of conciliation, the existing state of affairs, and contended that an opposite course would have produced the desired result. The Supreme Government abandoned their plan of amnesty, and saw no refuge but in the dreadful resource of a general banishment; and even the supporters of his lordship's views were staggered; but Lord Wm. Bentinck felt it right to adhere to his former line of conduct, believing that the existing commotions were the effects of the late violent concussion, and that the system which, on the maturest deliberation, he had preferred, would justify his opinion. At the same time his lordship took every proper precaution, by altering the distribution of the army, and bringing together native and European troops, who had been broken into insulated detachments.

Infatuated conduct of the commanding officer at Palamcottah.

At this moment a most extraordinary proceeding took place at Palamcottah. The commanding officer adopted the resolution of disarming his whole corps, separating Mussulmans from Hindoos, putting arms into the hands of the latter, expelling the former from the fort, and taking possession of it with the Europeans, and a few hundred

hundred faithful Hindoos; at the same time dis- 1806
patching expresses to the commanding officer of the subsidiary force in Travancore, and to General Maitland, governor of Ceylon. In his communication to the latter, he represented, in the most extraordinary terms, that he had detected a desperate conspiracy, which had taken deep root along all the coast; and requested European aid with all possible promptitude! It was afforded. But with the same promptitude, and without any communication whatever to the Government at Madras, General Maitland dispatched intelligence of these events from Ceylon direct to England. It was fully believed, and with good reason, that this precipitate step of General Maitland finally decided the measure of recalling Lord Wm. Bentinck, which had been suggested on the first receipt of the accounts of the mutiny at Vellore, accompanied by all the usual exaggeration of private reports. The whole of the Palamcottah affair appeared to be a phantom of the imagination. The arms were restored to the Mahomedan troops, who readily resumed their duties without showing the least disaffection. The Governor in Council caused a general order to be issued, condemning the impolicy of the measures adopted at Palamcottah and elsewhere, and calling upon all officers, both civil and military, cordially to co-operate in carrying into effect principles of confidence, respect, and conciliation, towards native troops, which principles

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principles had been recognized by the Government of Madras and the Governor-general in Council.

Restoration of confidence.

Other rumours were set at rest, and terminated the disturbances which had for nearly six months harassed the peninsula. The panic wore away: the sepoys forgot their fears of an attack upon their religion, and the officers were no longer in apprehension of the safety of their lives, or slept with pistols under their pillows.

Orders from Bengal for banishing the prisoners objected to by Lord William Bentinck.

The Bengal Government sent down orders for the banishment of the prisoners. To this Lord William Bentinck objected, as impolitic and hostile to the Government of Madras. The commander-in-chief supported the views from Bengal, which he contended was the course of policy he recommended from the first: the majority of the Council agreed with Lord William Bentinck in offering a representation to the Supreme Government against these views. At this critical moment, Lord Minto reached Madras on his way to Bengal as governor-general. His lordship gave his sanction to the act of lenity, and agreed with Lord William Bentinck in gradually setting the prisoners at liberty.

Proceedings of the Court of Directors on the affair of the mutiny.

The Court of Directors received the first intelligence of the mutiny at Vellore on the 17th February 1807, in a secret dispatch from Madras. On the 24th, the interval of a week only having elapsed, a motion was made for the recall of Lord William Bentinck: it was postponed until the

the 4th of March, and from that day until the 27th of April, when it was—

1807.

Lord William Bentinck recalled.

Resolved, by the ballot, That although the zeal and integrity of the present governor, Lord William Bentinck, are deserving of the Court's approbation: yet, when they consider the unhappy events which have taken place at Vellore, and also other parts of his lordship's administration which have come before them, the Court are of opinion, that it is expedient, for the restoration of confidence in the Company's government, that Lord William Bentinck should be removed, and he is hereby removed accordingly.

Mr. Petrie appointed governor.

On the 15th April the Court's orders were sent to Madras, removing his lordship, and also Sir John Cradock, which orders were received at Fort St. George on the 17th September, Mr. Petrie being appointed to take charge of the government. It was desired to continue to Lord William Bentinck the same honours during his stay at Madras as when his lordship was governor; but he declined to receive them, in consideration of the terms in which his removal was announced in the dispatch from the Court. It had been usual to allow the superseded governor the nominal possession of his office until the arrival of his successor, or until he could meet with an opportunity of embarking for England; his lordship's functions, however, ceased immediately on the receipt of the orders; no measures had been taken to enable his lordship to return home, and but for the voluntary kindness of Sir Edward Pellew, he would

Lord William Bentinck declines continuance of honours.

Abrupt mode of his lordship's removal.

1807.

would have been obliged to remain, stripped of all authority, till the departure of the homeward-bound fleet: circumstances which produced an impression unfavourable to his lordship's character, both in the public mind at home, and in that of the community where he had presided as governor.

Sir John Cradock demurs resigning.

Sir John Cradock hesitated to relinquish the command of the King's troops; but the Government intimated that they should resort to the powers vested in them by law, to enforce obedience, and they appointed Major-general Hay Mcdowall, of his Majesty's service, then on the staff, to the command of the army.

Court's dispatch to Madras condemnatory of Lord William Bentinck.

In the dispatch to Madras, communicating the resolution of recall, the Court observed—

> With respect to Lord William Bentinck, of the uprightness of his intentions, and his regard for our service, we have no doubt, and we have had pleasure in expressing our satisfaction with different measures of his government; but others, which we felt ourselves obliged in the course of the last year to disapprove, impaired our confidence in him.

No instances were pointed out in which his lordship had incurred disapprobation: it was a general censure on the conduct of the latter part of his government. It is true, his lordship's visit to Calcutta was condemned, as militating against the principles which, by the Act of Parliament, restricted communications, except through the councils; but it is evident, that the personal representation

presentation of his lordship at the moment could alone have effected the object regarding the suspension of the permanent settlement. That question formed another ground of disapprobation; but it was a question upon which party feeling prevailed, and his lordship's views were as strongly supported a short time afterwards, as they had been previously disapproved. The employment of military men in civil duties was another cause of dissatisfaction; but the state of the country absolutely demanded it, and the most efficient instruments, indeed, the only capable servants, with but very few exceptions, were the military, to carry through the settlement of countries so peculiar and disorganized as those under the presidency of Fort St. George.

Another and most extraordinary circumstance had arisen, from the conduct of Sir Henry Gwillim, one of the puisne judges at Madras. In an address from the bench, he used the most intemperate language towards the Government, and even personally offensive to the governor, who had appointed Captain Grant, of his body guard, to the head of the police. A representation was made by petition to the King in Council, and Sir Henry Gwillim came home.

Lord William Bentinck having, on his return to England, ineffectually endeavoured to obtain from the Chairman a specific enumeration of the circumstances which entered into the contemplation of

1807.

of the Court, at the period of their adopting the words of the resolution for his removal, addressed a powerful appeal to the Court of Directors. After entering into a full explanation of the various points connected with the mutiny at Vellore, his lordship concluded in the following terms:—

Lord William Bentinck appeals to the Court for redress.

There are, gentlemen, occasions in which egotism is not vanity. I have a right to state my services, however humbly I may think of their deserts. The mutiny at Vellore cannot be attributed to me, directly or indirectly. I have been removed from my situation, and condemned as an accomplice, in measures with which I had no further concern than to obviate their ill consequences: my dismissal was effected in a manner harsh and mortifying; and the forms which custom has prescribed to soften the severity of a misfortune, at all events sufficiently severe, were on this single occasion violated, as if for the express purpose of deepening my disgrace. Whatever have been my errors, they surely have not merited a punishment, than which a heavier could hardly have been awarded to the most wretched incapacity, or the most criminal negligence. Under these circumstances, I present myself to your notice. I take it for granted, that the Court of Directors have been misinformed, and that to place the question before them in its true light, is to obtain redress. I have been severely injured in my character and feelings. For these injuries I ask reparation, if, indeed, any reparation can atone for feelings so deeply aggrieved, and a character so unjustly compromised in the eyes of the world. In complying with my demands, you will discharge, if I may venture to say so, what is due no less to your own honour than to mine.

The

The Court, on the 25th July 1809,

1807.

Resolved,—That under the impressions universally entertained, both in India and in Europe, at the breaking out of the Vellore mutiny, that it was occasioned by the wanton or needless violation of the religious usages of the natives, an opinion considerably sanctioned by the Supreme Government of Bengal, and even countenanced by the first dispatches of the Fort St. George presidency; and under the impressions, then also general, of the dangers to which the Company's interests were exposed, and of the necessity of a change in the chief officers of civil and military command, as well to vindicate the national respect for the religious usages of our native subjects, as to make a sacrifice to their violated rights, to restore public confidence, and to relieve the executive body of the Company, with whom so much responsibility rested, from the anxiety and apprehension occasioned by so unexampled and alarming a calamity, it became natural and expedient for them to remove Lord William Bentinck from the government, and Sir John Cradock from the command of the army of Fort St. George. And although, from the explanations that have since been given by those personages respectively, and from the further evidences which have come before the Court, it appears that the orders in question were far from being intended by the members of the Madras Government to trench in the least upon the religious tenets of the natives, and did not in reality infringe them, although the uninformed sepoys were led at length to believe that they did, yet the effects produced having been so disastrous, and associated in the native mind with the administration of the then governor and commander-in-chief; and those officers besides having, in the judgment of the Court, been defective in not examining with greater caution and care into the real sentiments and dispositions of the sepoys, before they proceeded

1807. ceeded to enforce the orders for the turban, the Court must still lament, that as, in proceeding to a change in the Madras Government, they yielded with regret to imperious circumstances; so, though they have the pleasure to find the charges originally advanced against the conduct of the governor and commander-in-chief, respecting the violations of caste, to have been, in the sense then attached to them, misapplied and defective, also in general vigilance and intelligence, yet that, as the misfortunes which happened in their administration placed their fate under the government of public events and opinions, which the Court could not control, so it is not now in their power to alter the effects of them.

Resolved,—That in considering the general character and conduct of Lord William Bentinck, in the presidency of Madras, the Court view with peculiar regret the unfortunate events which happened in the time of his administration, and which, from their unexampled alarming nature and vast impression upon the general mind both in India and Europe, with the baneful consequences apprehended from them, appeared to call instantly for such measures as should best satisfy the then state of public opinion, and seem most likely to restore public confidence and tranquillity; events which had the principal share in dictating those changes which removed him from the government of Fort St. George, and suggested also that the change should be immediate. But in the abruptness of the order of removal the Court meant no personal disrespect to Lord William Bentinck, and extremely regret that his feelings have been wounded by his considering it in that light. They lament that it should have been his fate to have his public situation decided by a crisis of such difficulty and danger as it has been the lot of very few public men to encounter; a crisis which they have since been happy to find was not produced by intended or actual violations

1807.

tions of caste, as they are now satisfied that Lord William Bentinck had no share in originating the orders which for a time bore that character, and, by the machinations of enemies working upon the ignorance and prejudices of the sepoys, were by them believed to be such violations. The Court cannot but regret, that as the reality of this belief would have been a sufficient motive for rescinding the order respecting the use of a new turban, which might have had the most beneficial effects, greater care and caution were not exercised in examining into the real sentiments and dispositions of the sepoys, before measures of severity were adopted to enforce that order. But in all the measures of moderation, clemency, and consideration, recommended by Lord William Bentinck after the mutiny, the Court, though not exactly agreeing with him in the data from which he reasoned, give him unqualified praise; and though the unfortunate events which separated Lord William Bentinck from the service of the Company cannot be recalled, yet the Court are happy to bear testimony to the uprightness, disinterestedness, zeal, respect to the system of the Company, and, in many instances, success with which he acted in the government of Fort St. George, and to express their best wishes that his valuable qualities and honourable character may be employed, as they deserve, for the benefit of his country.

CHAPTER XII.

1807.
Lord Minto at Madras;

LORD Minto touched at Madras on his way to Bengal in July 1807. Having sanctioned the measures of lenity recommended by Lord William Bentinck towards the native soldiery who had been concerned in the mutiny at Vellore, he proceeded to Calcutta, and entered upon the office of governor-general on the 31st of July. His lordship's sentiments accorded generally with the principle of non-interference, and with the course of policy opposed to an extension of the British possessions, and to further connexion with the native states.

At Calcutta.

His policy.

British power paramount

The British power had, by the course of events, become paramount, and was, in fact, substituted for that formerly exercised by the Mogul. A timid course of policy was, therefore, incompatible with the obligations we had incurred by the progress of our arms. This was felt to be the case by the Governor-general, who acknowledged that the security and tranquillity of our dominions depended upon the actual superiority of our power—upon the sense which the natives entertained of it—and upon the comparative weakness of

of those states individually. The policy of forbearance followed in the course of the changes in the supreme councils of India, had only increased the charge for repressing irruptions of those predatory powers, whose means of hostility would have been effectually subdued by an adherence to a more vigorous and decided course of proceeding.

1807.

Effects of restrictive policy.

The abandonment of the Rajpoot states to the westward of the Jumna, which left the Mahratta chiefs to pursue their own views regarding these states, had created no very favourable opinion of the faith and honour of a power, which aroused them to action when essential to its own interests, and abandoned them, on the ground of expediency, to the irritated feelings of their former rulers, when their services were no longer necessary.

Political negotiations.

The administration of Lord Minto comprised an extensive field of political negotiation. The measures of his government may be described under the internal and external relations on the continent of India, and to the expeditions against the foreign settlements of our European enemies beyond sea.

1808.
Hydrabad.

The measures at Hydrabad arose out of the death of the minister of the Nizam, Meer Allum, which took place in 1808. Mooneer ool Moolk, the chosen minister of the Nizam, endeavoured to maintain his authority in opposition to Rajah Chundoo Loll, who was more favourably disposed towards the British Government, they having supported his pretensions to the countenance of the Nizam.

1808.

Nizam. The instructions from the Home authorities had enjoined forbearance in all matters connected with the internal affairs of his highness's government, with the exception of giving assistance in reforming the army, and in authorizing the admission of British officers to train, discipline, and command his troops. The necessary influence which attached to the British resident from this state of things, at Hydrabad, left the power of the Nizam merely nominal.

The pecuniary interests of the Government rested with the Dewan. The Nizam, who felt that his personal influence had little weight against the power of Chundoo Loll, supported as it was by the British resident, soon ceased to take any concern in the conduct of public affairs. A field was thus presented for the growth of those evils which subsequent events have so abundantly exhibited. Captain Sydenham having resigned the residency in 1810, Mr. Russell was appointed his successor; Mr. Elphinstone was at the same time nominated to Poonah; Mr. Jenkins to Nagpoor; and Mr. Metcalfe* with Scindiah.†

1808-9.
Peishwa on treaty of Bassein.

A modification of the treaty of Bassein was still a point pressed on the attention of the Supreme Government from home. Any relaxation in the provisions of that treaty would have been gratifying to the Mahrattas, so far as it tended

* The present Sir Charles Metcalfe, Bart. and G.C.B.

† Political Letters from Bengal, August and October 1810.

tended to weaken the influence of the British Government at Poonah. The only alternative was, to maintain the alliance on its original basis, or to abandon it altogether. The former secured the purposes for which it had been formed: the latter would only have served to revive the ambition of the Mahratta state. Whatever had been the reluctance of the Peishwa to the treaty when first proposed, he had now no desire for any change, as his highness felt his welfare depended upon the observance of its stipulations.

1808-9.

An impression was at this time entertained at home, that a balance of power might be established in India for the security of the several states, and for the interest of the whole. But such a system had never existed in that country; it seemed to be opposed to the character and constitution of those states. Rapine and conquest were their legitimate pursuits, being sanctioned by the principles of the religion professed by the Mahomedan power, which was dead to all semblance of public faith, justice, or humanity.

Idea of a balance of power in India.

The negotiations with the Peishwa were accordingly confined to remodelling his troops, and to measures for bringing into a better state of subjection his refractory tributaries, the southern jaghiredars, who held lands upon condition of rendering military service.

The possessions of the Rajah of Berar had been repeatedly menaced by the Patan chief, Ameer Khan,

Ameer Khan.

1808-9. Khan, who was a native of Sumbull, in the province of Mooradabad. He had been originally retained by a Mahratta officer of the Peishwa, who had the management of some districts in Malwa. In these services he, with his followers, were employed as sebundy or local militia, with an average monthly pay of three or four rupees a man, and ten to fifteen to him as their commander. He was afterwards, with six horsemen and sixty foot, enlisted by Hiyat Mahomed Khan, and became engaged with the Rajpoots against the Mahrattas, in which contests he so distinguished himself as to be raised to the command of five hundred men. Some differences with the Rajpoot chiefs led to his entering the service of Balaram Inglia, a Mahratta chief, then engaged in disputes at Bhopaul. In this service he had 1,500 men placed under him. He subsequently adopted the cause of Jeswunt Rao Holkar, in whose service he rose to the possession of that power and influence which rendered him so formidable as a predatory chief.

He was sole commander of Holkar's army; but his Patan followers were in a constant state of mutiny, and for more than half a year they held their chief under restraint, near Saugor. After the return of Holkar from Hindostan, he separated from him and entered the service of the Rajah of Jeypoor, who engaged his aid in an approaching contest with the Rajah of Joudpoor and Bheem Sing, for the disputed hand of the daughter of the

the Rajah of Oodeypoor, the family of the highest rank amongst the Rajpoots. She had been betrothed to Bheem Sing; but he died, and was succeeded by Maun Sing, a distant relation. Two years afterwards, Sevaee Sing, who had been minister to Bheem Sing, brought forward a real or supposed son of that prince, in support of whose claims he formed a strong party. After many vicissitudes, in the course of which Maun Sing had been constrained to flee from Joudpoor, he was ultimately restored; but could not feel secure so long as Sevaee Sing, who had already conspired against him, continued alive; he, therefore, engaged the Patan chief, Ameer Khan, to march against him. He made him an advance of two lacs of rupees, and promised him future wealth and favour, as the reward of success in this enterprize.

1808-9.

Sevaee Sing had been persuaded to promise a visit to Ameer Khan; but when the hour came the Rajpoot chief, who, probably, had received some intelligence of the designs against his life, hesitated. Ameer Khan, when he learned his irresolution, mounted, and proceeded with a few followers to the shrine of a Mahomedan saint, close to the walls of Nagore. He was here joined by Sevaee Sing, whom he reproached for his fears, and asked him if he thought it possible, that a man who cherished evil designs could show such confidence as he had that day done, by placing himself in the power of the person he meant to betray; Sevaee Sing confessed his error. Presents, dresses, and even turbans (a pledge of brotherhood) were exchanged, and Ameer Khan

1808-9. Khan swore, at the tomb of the saint, to be faithful to his new ally, who was persuaded to go next day to his camp, where splendid preparations were made for his reception, and a number of chiefs appointed to meet him. The troops were under arms, some on pretext of doing honour to the visitor, others apparently at exercise. The guns were loaded with grape, and pointed at the quarters prepared for the Rajah, who, with his principal adherents, to the number of two hundred, were seated in a large tent, when it was let fall upon them at a concerted signal; and while the officers of Ameer Khan saved themselves, all the Rajpoots were inhumanly massacred by showers of grape and musquetry from every direction. Of seven hundred horse that accompanied Sevaee Sing, and continued mounted near the tent, only two hundred escaped; the rest were slain, and a number of Ameer Khan's people, among whom was one of his own relations, fell under the promiscuous fire of the cannon. Sevaee Sing had been killed by grape; but his head was cut off, and sent to Maun Sing, who rewarded Ameer Khan with a jaghire and a large sum of money.

Such is the history given by Sir John Malcolm of one of the leading chiefs who engaged the attention of the British Government, under Lord Hastings, terminating in a treaty concluded with him by Mr. Metcalfe, securing to him certain portions of Holkar's territories.

Ameer Khan had availed himself of the insanity of Jeswunt Row Holkar, to lodge a claim on behalf of the Holkar state, as a colour for his incursions. He was assisted in his projects by a considerable force of the Pindarries, with whom he advanced towards Nagpoor. A British force, under the command

command of Colonel Close,* was sent against him, by which he was expelled from the Rajah's territories. He retired into Malwa, where he associated himself with the Pindarries. His force daily increased, with which he threatened the frontiers of the Nizam, the Peishwa, and the Rajah of Berar. The apprehensions of the British Government of the effects likely to be produced by the appearance of so powerful a body, composed of materials that would spread desolation in its course, contemplated the establishment of a permanent force on the Nerbuddah, in order to check the inroads that might be attempted, not only against other territories, but even the Company's own possessions.

1808-9.

Extension of British power inevitable.

It is in these movements we perceive the inevitable tendency of our power in India to advance, being propelled by the necessity of self-preservation.

1809-10.

Affairs of Baroda and Guzerat.

The affairs of the Baroda presidency, in connexion with Guzerat and the state of Kattywar, next engaged the attention of the Governor-general. The country of Kattywar was possessed by various chieftains, tributaries of the Guicowar, but exercising independent power in the internal rule of their own limits.

Col. Walker.

Colonel Walker, the resident at Baroda, had been engaged, at the close of the year 1806, in reducing the expenses of the Guicowar state, and in recovering the revenue due to it from Kattywar, as well as in exerting his influence for the prevention

* The late Sir Barry Close.

1809-10. tion of infanticide, a crime prevalent amongst many of the chieftains. In the negotiations and measures which followed, Colonel Walker manifested great firmness and judgment. He effected a settlement, by which a body of troops was to be stationed at Palliat, the Kattywar chieftains engaging to pay a stipulated annual tribute of between four and five lacs.

Kattywar.

Operations were carried on against the most refractory of the chiefs. The fort of Kindador was taken without loss, and that of Mallia was stormed on the 8th July. Colonel Walker returned to England in 1810, when Major Carnac,* who had acted as resident during his absence in Kattywar, was confirmed in that post by the Government, and recommended to the favourable notice of the Court of Directors, who consented to his retaining the office on trial. In February 1811, the Government of Bombay nominated him resident, which was confirmed by the Court. Major Carnac successfully exerted himself in introducing measures of reform, the benefits of which were so apparent, that the Government desired to ensure their continuance by his intervention and superintendance.

The Peishwa, Bajee Row, having preferred some claims on the Guicowar, his minister, Gungahder Shastry, was deputed to Poonah at the close of 1813, to effect a settlement.

Oude.

That interminable subject, the affairs of Oude, again

* Now Sir James Rivett Carnac, Bart.

1810-11. Oude

again demanded the interposition of the Governor-general. His lordship was anxious to prevail upon the Vizier to introduce a reform in the vicious system of his administration—but all his efforts proved fruitless. The undue exactions and over-assessment of the Vizier's lands, caused determined resistance on the part of the zemindars. The British Government were called upon to interfere by force in supporting the cause of injustice. The resident at Lucknow, * who had acted in a manner which called forth the entire approbation of the Governor-general, pointed out, in strong terms, to the Vizier, the ruinous consequences that would inevitably ensue from persevering in a system of farming his lands at exorbitant rates, and exacting payment by force of arms against his oppressed and suffering subjects. The resident apprised the Vizier, that the repeated and positive injunctions of the British Government precluded his compliance with any future requisition for troops, till entirely satisfied of the justice and expediency of the measures which they might be required to support.

Every endeavour to induce the Vizier to make a settlement, under lease, upon fair and equitable terms, was ineffectual: his inordinate desire of accumulating wealth being opposed to any plan for advancing his own permanent interests or the happiness of the people.†

The

* The late Colonel John Baillie.

† Political Letter from Bengal, October 1811.

1809-10.
External political relations.

The external relations on the continent of India comprehended negotiations with Scinde, Bushire, Persia, Caubul, Lahore, Nepaul, and Ava.

Mission to Scinde.

The policy of effectually guarding against the influence of the French, whose views were directed towards the East, led to a mission from the Governor-general to the Ameers of Scinde, under Mr. Hankey Smith, who concluded an agreement on the 9th August 1809. It was one of friendship, and excluded the *tribe* of the French from settling in that country. The Ameer, Gholam Ali, was desirous, as a proof of cordiality on the part of the British Government, that they should aid him in the conquest of Cutch. This proposition being at variance with the principles of justice and moderation by which the Governor-general was actuated, the Ameer was apprised that the Government had no desire to extend its dominions in any direction. He was likewise informed, that the territories which had been subdued by the British arms, were conquered from chiefs who employed their resources to subvert the British power, and even a large portion of the conquered territories had been restored to the vanquished enemies, or granted to others. The object of the British Government was to maintain peace and tranquillity; to cultivate relations of amity and concord with surrounding states; to respect their rights, and to guard its own.

Intelligence having reached the Governor-general,

neral, at the close of 1807, of a design entertained by the French for invading India, with a prospect of co-operation on the part of the Turkish and Persian states, Lord Minto appointed Colonel Malcolm his political agent, investing him with plenipotentiary powers in Persia, the Persian Gulf, and Turkish Arabia, by which the authority of the separate political agency possessed by the residents at Bagdad, Bussorah, and Bushire, was suspended; Colonel Malcolm being authorized, whenever he should see fit for the benefit of the public service, to take upon him the powers of resident at either of those places. He was furnished with credentials as envoy, or ambassador to the court of Persia, and to the Pacha of Bagdad, in the event of his finding it practicable to proceed to either of those courts. He reached Bushire in May 1808, from whence he transmitted to Bengal an able historical review of the progress of the French intrigues in Persia, and of the military operations of Russia on the north-west frontier of that kingdom. The ascendancy of the French councils at the Persian court rendered abortive all attempts to procure the reception of the British mission. Colonel Malcolm accordingly quitted Bushire, leaving his secretary, Captain Pasley, to act in any emergency, and returned to Calcutta.

1807-8. Affairs in Persia.

Col. Malcolm appointed to Persia.

French influence paramount in Persia.

To check attempts of the French to establish their influence in the East, aided by that of Russia, Ministers

1807-8. Mission of Sir Harford Jones to Persia from England.

1807-8.

Ministers dispatched Sir Harford Jones,* as envoy extraordinary and plenipotentiary, to Tehran, where he effected a treaty, in virtue of which the French embassy was dismissed. Instructions having been sent at the same time to the Governor-general to adopt measures of precaution, Lord Minto deputed Colonel Malcolm to the Arabian and Persian courts. That officer arrived in Bushire in February 1810, and assumed, in obedience to his instructions, the functions of envoy and plenipotentiary on the part of the Indian Government to the Persian court. He met with a most gracious reception; his residence there was not of long duration, as he learned that another mission was on the eve of departure from Europe, in succession to that of Sir Harford Jones, with whom Colonel Malcolm, so long as he remained, cooperated in the most cordial manner in advancing the public interests. Sir Gore Ouseley proceeded on his embassy in 1810.

1808-9.

Colonel Malcolm proceeds to Persia.

Sir Gore Ouseley.

Embassy to Caubul.

Lord Minto had taken early measures, shortly after his arrival in Bengal, for securing the service of an intelligent native to obtain correct information of what was passing in Caubul, and in the countries between the Indus and Persia.

A revolution had taken place in Caubul, occasioned by the rebellion of the king's nephew, prince Camran. The king, Shujah-ool-Moolk, attempted to induce the chiefs in Mooltan to join him

* The present Right Hon. Sir Harford Jones Brydges, Bart.

him and oppose Keyer Shah, then in possession of the country, from the city of Caubul to Candahar.

1808-9.

Mission of M. Elphinstone.

The Hon. Mountstuart Elphinstone was dispatched as ambassador extraordinary to the King; he was graciously received: a treaty being concluded in June 1809, in which the co-operation of Caubul was secured against the designs of the French, which power was declared in the treaty to have entered into a confederacy against Caubul, with ulterior views on India. The king was shortly afterwards defeated, and compelled to fly, with only thirty horsemen, by Shah Mahomed, who was in possession of the capital in September 1810, the king being then at Peshawur. His majesty having assembled some troops with the aid of the soubahdar of Cashmere, advanced against Shah Mahomed, but was again defeated, and obliged to fly to Attock. Caubul was threatened with invasion by the Persians in 1812, who had also menaced Herat. Shah Mahomed failed in his attempts against the hill people, and Shujah-ool-Moolk recovered from him Peshawur. Any thing beyond a treaty of the least binding and extensive character, with a state subject to such vicissitudes, was considered both unadvisable and impolitic.

Runjeet Sing.

Runjeet Sing, the chief of Lahore, had at this time made advances towards the confines of the Company's north-west frontier. Circumstances induced

1808-9.

induced the Governor-general to hold communications with him in the early part of 1808. Supported by a force under the command of Colonel Ochterlony, they terminated satisfactorily; a mutual desire being manifested to maintain a friendly intercourse and correspondence.

Treaty with.

The Government, in August 1809, effected a treaty, through the instrumentality of Mr. Metcalfe, with Runjeet Sing, in which that chieftain agreed not to maintain on the north bank of the Sutleje more troops than were necessary for the internal duties of his territory: the British Government was not to interfere, nor to have any concern with the territories and subjects to the north of that river. In the spring of 1809, a negotiation took place between Bye Laul Sing, a chief to the south of the Sutlej, and Runjeet Sing, for the cession by the latter of some lands south of the Sutlej, in favour of Bye Laul, who wished the British Government to guarantee the transaction. This was declined; but the Government manifested a disposition to maintain him in it, provided he effected the cession.

Runjeet Sing's authority, north of the Sutlej, was now fully acknowledged. He manifested the most amicable conduct towards the British Government, expelling Philo Sing, who had attacked Lieutenant White, an officer in the Company's service. The Governor-general, in order to cement the harmony existing between the two states, presented

presented Runjeet Sing with a carriage and a pair of horses, with which he was much pleased. After raising the siege of Mooltaun, for the sum of two lacs and a-half of rupees, that state agreeing to deliver to him twenty war horses and to furnish a body of horse, he returned to Lahore.*

1808-9.

Nepaul.

The affairs of Nepaul had begun to press themselves upon the attention of the Supreme Government. The conduct of the rajah had been most oppressive towards his subjects, twelve hundred having emigrated in the summer of 1806. At the close of 1808, the Supreme Government became involved with the rajah in boundary disputes. In writing to the Court, the Government remarked, that the encroachments of the rajah might be easily repelled, without involving any serious difficulty.* In 1810, the Government was constrained to demand the relinquishment of some lands belonging to the zemindar of Bimnugghur, who was a subject of the British Government. The rajah was apprized that force would be resorted to, if he hesitated in making restitution. The Goorkhas, at the same time, evinced a disposition to encroach upon the Seik chieftains to the south of the Sutlej, who were under British protection. In 1811 they advanced to the district of Kyneghur,

1810-11.
Incursions of the Nepaulese into the Company's districts.

* Political Letter, 20th August 1810.

† Political Letter, 21st January 1809.

Kyneghur, and actually erected a fort in the Company's territories.*

1812-13.

In May 1812 the Bengal Government apprized the Court of Directors, that there was no prospect of an amicable settlement of the disputes with the Nepaulese. Restitution was subsequently demanded, and, at the close of the year, a military force was required to expel them from Bootwul. Major Bradshaw was deputed, in May 1813, to settle the boundary disputes, by whom "the encroachments which they had made were clearly demonstrated."†

These proceedings were a prelude to the hostilities which eventually followed: affording another instance of our having fallen into the worst of errors, *viz.* that of undervaluing an enemy.

1809-10. Arracan.

From the north-eastern borders of the British possessions we travel down to Arracan. The neutrality of its coast had been infringed, in an attack by a French ship on an island situated between Cheduba and the main land: a circumstance which led to a mission from Ava to Calcutta, for the purpose of ascertaining the cause, and to expostulate against the proceeding. Lieut. Canning was selected by the Government to proceed on a mission to Ummarapoora, to explain the circumstance, as well as the blockade resolved upon against the French islands.

* Political Letter, May 1811.

† Political Letter, 1st October 1813.

islands. He reached Rangoon in October 1809, from whence the King of Ava desired that the mission might be forwarded to his capital in the most distinguished manner.

1809-10.

Mhugs from Burmah.

The incursions of some of the natives, termed Mhugs, from Burmah, into the Company's territory in Chittagong, with other circumstances, presented obstacles to a satisfactory termination of the mission. Disputes were continually occurring on the frontiers of Chittagong and Tipperah, until at length the two countries became involved in war.

1809. Causes of discontent in coast army.

On Sir George Barlow's appointment as governor-general being vacated by the Crown, he was nominated, shortly after the recall of Lord William Bentinck, to the government of Madras, and reached that presidency in the month of December 1807. During the provisional administration of Mr. Petrie, personal questions had arisen which occasioned considerable party feeling. Some of them were connected with the grain department; and others arose out of the settlement of the Carnatic debts, under an arrangement adopted with the sanction of Parliament in 1805. The views of Sir George Barlow differed from those entertained by Mr. Petrie, who still remained a member of the council in the new government. The measures consequent on these differences caused much public agitation.

Sir George Barlow.

General M'Dowall.

At the same time that Sir George Barlow was appointed governor, Lieut.-general Hay M'Dowall,

 of

1809.

of his Majesty's service, then on the staff at Madras, and who had served long in India, was nominated by the Court of Directors commander-in-chief, in succession to Sir John Cradock. The president of the Board of Control,* on recommending General M'Dowall for the office, suggested that he should be appointed, as usual, to a seat in council. The Court had determined, upon general views, for the government of a subordinate presidency not to appoint the commander-in-chief to a seat in council. Without impugning the motives which influenced the executive body in this exercise of their undoubted prerogative, the exclusion was unprecedented, and most unfortunate in its effects. The moment selected for acting upon the new principle was not well chosen. Until Lord Cornwallis proceeded to India as governor-general and commander-in-chief in 1786, the law provided that the commander-in-chief should have the seat of second member in council; but when his lordship held the two offices, an act was specially passed, leaving it optional with the Court to appoint a commander-in-chief to council or not. This option had never been exercised to the exclusion of any officer holding that station until the instance occurred in the person of General McDowall. When Marquis Cornwallis proceeded to India for the second time, in 1805, with the two appointments of governor-

The commander-in-chief at Madras excluded from council.

Effects.

* The Right Hon. George Tierney.

1809.

governor-general and commander-in-chief, Lord Lake was superseded in the office of commander-in-chief in India, and nominated provincial commander-in-chief; but in order to retain his lordship in council, an act was specially passed admitting of a provincial commander-in-chief being appointed to a seat, although the office of commander-in-chief might be held by the governor-general.

This circumstance was, perhaps, not sufficiently attended to, as Lord Lake had resumed the office of commander-in-chief on the death of Lord Cornwallis in October 1805, and it was not until 1807 that General McDowall's exclusion took place. The proceeding towards General McDowall was thus more strongly marked, and he appears to have felt that it bore that character, as, in the month of November, when intelligence of it reached Madras, he addressed General Sir George Hewitt, the commander-in-chief in Bengal, desiring to relinquish the command at Madras, for the purpose of returning to Europe. Sir George Hewitt did not doubt his own competency to acquiesce in General McDowall's request, but intimated that the regular channel was through the Governor and Council of the presidency to which he belonged. It does not appear what intermediate steps General McDowall adopted in the interval between December 1807, when he received the communication from Sir George Hewitt, and the

Gen. McDowall desires to resign.

15th

1809.

15th January 1809, when he addressed Sir George Barlow as the governor of Madras. In this letter he adverted in strong terms to his exclusion from a seat in council, and stated that sixteen months' experience had satisfied him that he could not remain, with the prospect of any advantage to the public service; he, therefore, determined that his name should not be branded with the reproach of having been the first general officer who retained a situation after all hope of a restoration to its former distinction had expired. The Government acceded to his wish to resign, and ordered the senior general-officer in the Company's service to repair to Madras. On the following day General McDowall addressed the Government under strongly excited feelings on measures of a military nature against Travancore having been discussed and decided upon in council, whilst he was left in ignorance of the circumstances; also suggesting the appointment of a different officer from the party selected by Government for service in Travancore, and at the same time submitting a letter from the officer he recommended. The general was officially apprised on the 18th, that the Government abstained from all comment on the views which he had expressed, but that the letter from the officer he had named was so disrespectful in its terms, that the Government doubted whether they could permit him to remain in the station he then filled. A further letter from General McDowall

Gen. M'Dowall's address to Government.

Places quarter-master-general in arrest.

McDowall was received by the Government, referring to his former opinion regarding the intended measures to the southward, and intimating that he should feel inconvenience from the officer selected by Government being detached on the service, as he had seen fit to place his senior, then quarter-master general, under arrest. To this the Government replied, that as he had placed the quarter-master-general in arrest, the assistant quarter-master-general would not be ordered on the service for which he was originally selected.

1809.

On the 19th, General MDowall, alluding to his intention to quit the presidency, declared that he had not been consulted on the military measures in contemplation; that he felt his situation most painfully embarrassing, and that if, in perusing the papers he had asked for, he should discover that the Court of Directors actually meant that their commander-in-chief should be a mere cypher, he should every hour have greater cause to rejoice that he had resigned a service, which, under such a position, he could only tend to degrade. He then pointedly alluded to the fact of Mr. Petrie, who had more than once filled the chair, having consulted him on all military measures, for which, he stated, he felt gratitude to that gentleman; he then expressed his belief that the officer whose letter he had forwarded never intended disrespect towards the Government, and trusted their displeasure would be carried no farther. The reply

1809. reply from the Government stated, that they were not aware that any measures connected with the intended service had been withheld from him, and that the whole of the papers would be sent to him. They expressed a desire, on all occasions to evince the most scrupulous attention to his Excellency's opinions: at the same time, there were occasions when the Governor in Council might feel it right to exercise his own discretion in issuing directions, and they desired to avoid all further discussion on the subject.

This point being disposed of, the matter connected with the quarter-master general next came under consideration. That officer had represented to the Government the circumstances which had led to his being placed in arrest. He appealed to them for support and protection, and for the defence of his public character. It appeared that he had been called upon by the preceding commander-in-chief, Sir John Cradock, to report upon some details connected with the quarter-master-general's department. Amongst other matters, he had recommended the abolition of the "Tent Contract," as a system which might place an officer's public and private interests in opposition to each other. This was deemed by the commander-in-chief, and by other officers, to reflect injuriously on the character of the commanding officer of corps.

The Government called upon the Company's law

1809.

law officer for his opinion on the legality of the proceeding. That officer stated that the paper in question did not contain any matter which could be the proper subject of the charges preferred against the quarter-master-general: that they ought not to be sustained, and that the quarter-master-general was entitled to the support of the authority under whom he acted to prevent his being brought to trial. The judge advocate-general fully supported the foregoing opinion, and observed, that "whenever the law enjoins a duty, it protects the agent in the legal discharge of it."

The Government earnestly recommended the commander-in-chief to release the quarter-master-general.

Government order release of quarter-master-general from arrest.

General M'Dowall having been furnished with some documents connected with that officer's representation, not only declined a compliance with the recommendation of Government, but intimated that it was his intention to prefer an additional charge against the quarter-master-general for disrespect to the commander-in-chief. The Government immediately addressed a letter to the commander-in-chief, ordering the release of the quarter-master-general from arrest. General M'Dowall having forwarded to the Government an address to the Court of Directors, from sundry officers of the Madras army, setting forth certain grievances, and amongst them that of the "commander-in-chief's exclusion from council," embarked

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Government order release of quarter-master-general from arrest.

1809. Gen. M'Dowall embarks for Europe, and leaves an offensive general order to be published.

barked for Europe on the 28th January, without tendering his formal resignation. He also left behind a general order to be issued, in which the conduct of the quarter-master-general was strongly condemned. It having been published by the deputy-adjutant-general, in the absence of his principal, the Government issued a general order, removing General M'Dowall from the office of commander-in-chief.

Such were the circumstances which led to the ulterior proceedings of the European officers of the coast army—proceedings utterly unjustifiable under any circumstances; but which had been, in a great measure, promoted by the misguided and reprehensible conduct of their commander-in-chief, whose duty it was to have set an example of obedience to the civil authority. That a cause of grievance existed cannot be denied, but that it was an adequate defence for the mischievous course pursued by General M'Dowall, no one can, for a moment, contend.

There ought not to be, in any well-regulated system of government, grounds for a grievance, the removal of which cannot be secured by a proper representation to the constituted authorities. But for an army to take into its own hands the power of redressing, what they themselves see fit to consider as a grievance, is incompatible with the existence of all civil government.

It is quite unnecessary to enter into any detailed account

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account of the transactions of a deeply painful character that followed, but which have long since passed away; they happily terminated in the unconditional submission of the officers to the civil authority. The gallant and meritorious services subsequently rendered by those officers, in arduous and trying campaigns, afford the most convincing proofs that it was the error of the head and not of the heart, instigated by a misguided chief, that led them into a momentary departure from a right course of action.

Lord Minto proceeds to Madras.

Lord Minto, in the belief that his presence would tend to restore a better state of things, proceeded in person to Madras, which he reached on the 11th September. His lordship had the gratification of finding that matters were reverting to a more satisfactory condition; and in congratulating the Home authorities on the conclusion of the dangerous troubles which had agitated the presidency, he ascribed the issue to the inflexible firmness of Sir George Barlow, which had preserved the authority of legal government unbroken and unimpaired by the dangerous example of prosperous revolt.

His lordship's judicious remarks.

"The necessity of mutual accommodation and concessions in the controversies and contentions of mankind," his lordship remarked, "renders compromise indispensable amongst the elements of human intercourse. But military sedition and revolt was among the few exceptions to this salutary

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tary and healing principle. The revolt of an army, of which the object is to overawe and control the Government, excludes compromise, being one of the evils for which the only remedy is a firm, vigorous, and determined opposition."

The Governor-general bore the strongest testimony to the conduct of Sir George Barlow, which he deemed worthy of the most distinguished countenance. An unfounded but rancorous disaffection had been an active principle with his opponents, and appears to have been caused by the steady and inflexible discharge of his public duty.

Throughout the proceedings, his Majesty's troops and the whole of the native army manifested the strongest feelings of devotion to the Government. There was one circumstance connected with these events which merits particular notice. Purneah, the dewan of the Mysore Government, who had acquired so high a place in the estimation of Sir Arthur Wellesley,* and by whose excellent advice he was implicitly governed, was frequently placed in most trying and difficult circumstances. But he invariably exhibited the warmest attachment to the interests of the British Government. An attempt was made by the field officer who had possession of the fortress of Seringapatam, to induce Purneah to follow other counsel than that given him by the Hon. Arthur Cole, the resident; for which purpose he wrote to him that all his disposable

Admirable conduct of Purneah, the dewan of Mysore.

* *Vide* pages 366 and 439.

1809.

disposable articles were in the fort, and dependent upon the manner in which he conducted himself. Purneah replied :

That the Rajah's property and his was the same as the Governor-general's, who was the preserver of both. That he had always considered the Resident's orders as one with those of the Government ; and that, let what would happen, he should always continue faithful to his engagements to the Company.

Some horses being much wanted for H.M. 22d Dragoons, during the foregoing unhappy proceedings, and few being bred in Mysore, Purneah suggested the offer of the Rajah's stable horse, 550 of which were fit for immediate work. They were accordingly placed at the disposal of Government. On delivering them over to the Resident,

Purneah assured him that every opportunity offered him of evincing his attachment and gratitude to the British Government, added a new term of years to his life, and an additional increase to his happiness.

This exemplary conduct, at such a trying moment, was pointedly acknowledged by the Home authorities.

1810-11.

Reduction of Mauritius and Spice Islands.

The French interests and influence in the East were, at this time, reduced by the capture of the Mauritius and of the Spice Islands, belonging to the Dutch in the Eastern seas.

Expedition to Macao.

An expedition, at the requisition of the select committee of supercargoes, was likewise sent, under

1810-11.

under Admiral Drury, to take possession of the Island of Macao, at the entrance of the Canton river, in 1809. The acquisition was effected: but the impressions produced in the minds of the Chinese led to a stoppage of the trade; a measure which spoke more forcibly than any other that could have been adopted for the maintenance of the Chinese authority.

They would listen to nothing less than a withdrawal of the whole of the naval and military forces, which accordingly took place. When the Court of Directors heard of the transaction, they expressed their strongest displeasure at the want of judgment shown by the select committee in their communication to the Supreme Government. The president, and some other members of the select committee, were removed. A gentleman who had formerly filled the president's chair, was sent out to resume that station, as offering the best proof to the Chinese Government, that the measures which had been adopted for seizing on Macao,* were unsanctioned, and disapproved of in England.

Capture of Java.

The important measure which closed Lord Minto's administration was the conquest of Java and its dependencies. It was an achievement too honourable to his lordship's government, as well as to the instrument whom he selected for the enviable privilege of first diffusing the blessings of British

* *Vide* "British and Foreign intercourse with China."

British rule over a mild and simple people, who had been subjected to the severities of a colonial policy, administered with all the baneful results which marked the government of its first European conquerors, to be passed over without some more particular notice. An empire which, for two centuries, had contributed to the power, prosperity, and grandeur of one of the principal and most respected states of Europe, was wrested from the short usurpation of the French Government, added to the dominions of the British Crown, and converted from a seat of hostile machinations and commercial competition, into an augmentation of British power and prosperity.

1810-11.

Services of Mr. Raffles in progress of the expedition.

In the year 1808, the late Sir Stamford (then Mr.) Raffles, was secretary to the Government of Prince of Wales' Island. The arduous nature of his duties, arising out of the arrangements consequent on the formation of a new establishment, many of the members having been attacked by illness, constrained him to seek repose and renovation in a change of scene. Mr. Raffles accordingly repaired to Malacca; there he acquired the most ample and complete information connected with the general trade, and islands forming the Eastern Archipelago—the power and influence of the Dutch settlements in those seas, the value of those islands, with reference to the trade between Europe and the kingdoms and countries situated to the eastward of the continent of India and the Malayan peninsula.

His

1810-11. His report of the fortifications of Malacca induced the Penang Government to refrain from carrying into effect their demolition, a measure which had been ordered with the view of deterring other Europeans from settling there, as well as to improve the newly established settlement of Penang, by compelling the natives to resort thither. The population of Malacca was twenty thousand souls, attached to it by birth and possessions, without the least prospect of their being induced to emigrate. The secret committee of the Court of Directors applauded the zeal of Mr. Raffles, and sanctioned the maintenance of the fortifications. Having visited the Governor-general at Calcutta on matters connected with the Eastern islands, he at this time forwarded to Lord Minto, who was then at Madras, a paper on the Malayan Archipelago. So highly did the Governor-general estimate the talents of its author, that his lordship wished to have nominated him to the government of the Moluccas, but previous arrangements interfered with this intention.

The extension of the French influence, and their possession of Java, from whence they could carry on their designs with both secrecy and facility, induced Mr. Raffles to submit his views on the importance of reducing the resources of the enemy in the Eastern seas. The document carried conviction to the mind of the Governor-general, who determined without delay to take measures for

1811.

for the conquest of Java, and to proceed on the expedition in person, at least so far as Malacca, where Mr. Raffles, in the character of his lordship's agent in the Malay states, acquired the most minute intelligence, with the view of furthering the success of the intended measure.

Lord Minto proceeds to Madras, and from thence to Malacca.

His lordship left Calcutta in the *Mornington*, cruizer, for Fort St. George, on the 9th March 1811. The troops from Bengal were to embark on the 15th or 16th. On the 18th April his lordship reached Penang. The extent of information with which Mr. Raffles was enabled to furnish the Governor-general on all points relating to countries of which scarcely any thing was known, and the comprehensive views with which he accompanied his reports, proved of infinite value.

Judgment of Mr. Raffles in selecting the route.

An incident that occurred at this stage of the proceedings marked the judgment and decision of Mr. Raffles. The late period when the expedition reached Malacca, caused some anxiety on account of the favourable monsoon, which was nearly terminating. A question arose as to which of two passages should be followed, in the course towards Java. The point called for an immediate determination; the choice was to be made between the northern route, round Borneo, which, from the little known of the navigation of those seas, was thought to be the only practicable one, especially for a fleet; but how the dangers of the Bartabac passage, where only one ship could

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could pass at a time, were to be avoided, no one could suggest. Mr. Raffles had strongly recommended the south-west passage, between Caramata and Borneo, and "staked his reputation on the success which would attend it." The naval authorities were opposed to it; but Lord Minto reposed full confidence in the judgment and local information of Mr. Raffles, by embarking with him in H.M. ship the *Modeste*, commanded by Capt. the Hon. George Elliott,* on the 18th June 1811, and leading the way on Mr. Raffles', sole responsibility. The result was entirely successful; the fleet, consisting of ninety sail, was in six weeks in sight of Batavia, without a single accident. The *Modeste* alone would have done it a fortnight sooner. The expedition, under General Sir Samuel Auchmuty, landed on the 4th August, and the final capitulation took place on the 18th September. Lord Minto remained in the island six weeks after the conquest, engaged in forming the government, and laying down principles for administering its affairs. Its abandonment to the natives had been seriously contemplated by other authorities, after all the immediate advantages had been derived from its conquest; but his lordship checked such an idea, and assumed, on his own responsibility, the power of acting upon more benevolent and enlightened principles.

Governor-general's confidence in Mr. Raffles.

The government of this newly-acquired empire was

* Now Admiral Elliott.

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Mr. Raffles appointed lieut.-governor.

was conferred upon Mr. Raffles in the most honourable manner by the Governor-general, in acknowledgment of the services he had rendered, and in consideration of his peculiar fitness for the office. Mr. Raffles was designated lieut.-governor. The charge was of a most arduous, extensive, and responsible nature. The difficulties were enhanced by his having become an object of jealousy to the Bengal civil service, the members of which considered that a valuable prize was bestowed on one whom they looked upon as an alien, and that it ought legitimately to have been held by a member of their own establishment; he had, likewise, to encounter similar feelings, arising from other causes, on the part of a distinguished member of the newly formed government in Java: but, to the honour of the Dutch gentleman who had belonged to the previous council, and who was now associated with Mr. Raffles, the lieut.-governor experienced his warmest support.

Charges against him.

Scarcely two months had elapsed from the departure of Lord Minto for Calcutta, when the commander of the forces, who had highly distinguished himself in services consequent on the surrender, and had received the marked thanks of the Government, preferred some serious charges against the lieut-governor. Differences had occurred between Mr. Raffles and General Gillespie on the extent of the military establishment; the lieut.-governor advocating retrenchments as most conso-

1811.
Successfully refuted.

nant to the views of the Governor-general, whilst the general urged the increase of the military forces. The charges against the lieut.-governor embraced a variety of points. The result of an investigation was in every way most honourable to him, and the measures terminated in General Nightingall being appointed to succeed General Gillespie; thus "relieving his government from obstacles it had become next to impossible to surmount, and himself from personal vexation very difficult to live under."*

His measures of government sound and judicious.

Relieved from this embarrassment, the lieut.-governor proceeded to carry into effect the various measures which marked his successful and enlightened administration. He had to contend with great financial difficulty; the condition of the public resources being most deplorable. The difficulty was greatly aggravated by inevitable hostilities with Palambang and Djojocarta. Relief was devised in the sale of lands and in the reform of the currency. A system of land-revenue was introduced, founded on the same principle as a ryotwary settlement, with which Mr. Raffles was at that time entirely unacquainted. The Home authorities augured well of it, believing that the colony would soon have been brought to liquidate its own expenses by the lieut.-governor's "lenient, mild, and equitable administration." His regulations also for the judicial department and the police,

* Letter from the Governor-general to Mr. Raffles.

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police, developed principles that were acknowledged to be sound, and entitled to much praise; as were his views respecting Borneo, Banca, and Japan. His communications, both to his Majesty's Government and to the Court of Directors, were frequent and ample, but he could obtain no direct instructions upon scarcely any one point, saving that of economy; which was pressed with the earnestness attached to so important a point in the affairs of the Company, who had at that time been petitioning Parliament for some advances on account of their disbursements for the public service.

The affairs of Europe, too, at this juncture were of too deep an interest to admit of much attention being given to those of Java or Japan, the consideration of those subjects being at the moment as foreign to the minds of the King's ministers, as the places were distant to which they related. The uncertainty, too, whether the colony would be retained by the Crown or transferred to the Company, was another most unfavourable circumstance connected with his administration; but, notwithstanding these adverse events, his government of Java presents an honourable instance of British rule. It exhibited the most liberal, beneficent, and philanthropic principles. To notice one which had for its object the welfare of the natives, Mr. Raffles introduced vaccination, and set apart some lands under the designation of the "Jennerian lands," for

Uncertainty arising from want of instructions from England.

1811. Vaccination introduced.

for the support of the system, which has been found so great a blessing to the natives not only of Java but the surrounding states. He promoted literature and science, and encouraged every plan calculated to advance the happiness of the people. He was a strenuous advocate for instructing the natives, and for diffusing knowledge by all possible means. He checked gaming; he reprobated slavery; and deeply deplored the demoralizing effects arising from the curse inflicted upon the natives by the introduction and use of opium. He described it as having struck deep into the habits, and extended its malignant influence to the morals of the people, by perpetuating its power in degrading their character and enervating their energies. It at all times acts as a slow poison, undermining the faculties of the soul and the constitution of the body, rendering a person unfit for all kind of labour, and an image of the brute creation. The use of the drug is so much the more dangerous because a person who is once addicted to it can never leave it off.

Evils of opium.

Dutch commissioners oppose its importation

The Dutch commissioners who sat at the Hague in 1803, remarked:

> That no consideration of pecuniary advantage ought to weigh with the European Government in allowing its use;

and they added,

> If we were to follow the dictates of our own heart only, and what moral doctrine and humanity prescribe, no law, however severe, could be contrived which we would not

propose

1811.

propose to prevent at least that, in future, any subject of this republic or of the Asiatic possessions of the state, should be disgraced by dealing in that abominable poison. Yet we consider this as absolutely impracticable, at present, with respect to those places not subject to the state.

It is, therefore, necessary at once and entirely to abolish the trade and importation of opium, and to prohibit the same under the severest penalties that the law permits, since it is a poison.

The administration of the Earl of Minto, so far as regarded the political measures on the continent of India, was governed by the principles inculcated from home. It was intended as a healing course to the lengthened state of hostilities in which the country had been so long involved, and as a relief from the financial pressure with which it had been accompanied; but the embers of a confederated feeling hostile to the British power were only smothered for a time, whilst the foreign conquests, so honourable to his lordship's judgment, necessarily led to extensive disbursement in reducing the colonial influence of the enemy, far heavier than the wars with the native states. The latter terminated in the permanent extension of our dominions on the continent of India, whilst the foreign expeditions gave us but temporary possession of colonies, which had no sooner experienced the blessings of British rule than they were restored to their original possessors.

1811

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CHAPTER XIII.

1813.

Whatever estimate this country had formed of the value of our territorial possessions in India, Parliament appeared to consider that it discharged its obligations towards that empire, by ratifying the terms agreed upon between the Government and the Company, for a renewal of their exclusive privileges of trade. The mercantile interests of the United Kingdom, more immediately connected with the commerce of the East, availed themselves of each renewal to attempt some diminution of the privileges enjoyed by the Company, as they contended that the country at large had a just right to participate in the India trade.

These views had been powerfully urged for some time previously to the measures of 1813, when the first great inroad in the Company's exclusive privileges took place.

Negotiation for renewal of the Charter.

Some correspondence regarding a renewal of the Charter had occurred so far back as the year 1808, and was resumed at intervals, in communications relative to the financial and other branches of the Company's affairs.

On

On the 22d of February 1813, a petition was presented by the Company to Parliament, setting forth the principles upon which the union of their commercial and political privileges had been maintained, and should be continued; the commercial monopoly being an instrument in the hands of the Company for political purposes, in the government of India.

1813.

Resolutions of House of Commons

On the 13th of March the House of Commons, on the motion of Lord Castlereagh, resolved itself into a committee, when his lordship submitted sundry resolutions, containing a modification of the system. Evidence was adduced at the instance of the Company, at the bar of the House, commencing with the examination of Mr. Hastings, on the 30th of March; by which it was attempted to be shown, that the views entertained by the opponents of the Company's exclusive privileges were fallacious, whilst the resort of parties to India, and the opening of the trade, would be productive of the most serious effects to the stability of the British power there, and to the interests of the Home revenue. The examinations were subsequently carried on before select committees in each house, and published in two large quarto volumes. They contained much interesting matter, regarding the trade and intercourse with India and China; but had not the slightest effect in producing any alteration in the resolutions originally submitted by the Minister to the House.

On

1813.

On the 26th of June a Bill was brought in, founded upon the resolutions which passed the Commons on the 13th July, and a few days afterwards was agreed to by the Lords without alteration.*

The trade with India was thrown open in ships of a given tonnage, under license from the Court of Directors, on whose refusal an appeal lay to the Board, to whom the Directors were to transmit the papers with their resolution thereon. The resort of parties to India for commercial and other purposes, was placed under similar provisions.

In order to satisfy the doubts which had arisen regarding the outturn of the Company's commercial affairs, the accounts were, in future, to be separated, under the two heads of "territory" and "commerce," according to a plan approved by Parliament. It exhibited what portion of the extensive establishments, both in India and at home, came under each head of charge, and showed the result of the Company's financial resources, whether arising from commerce or territory.

A general authority was given to the Board over the appropriation of the territorial revenues, and the surplus commercial profits, which might accrue after a strict observance of the appropriation clauses.

Power of Board.

The Board were to have control over the college and seminary in England. The offices of gover-nor-

* It formed the Act of the 53d Geo. III. cap. 155.

1813.

nor-general, governors, and commanders-in-chief, were now made subject to the approval of the Crown. Restoration of suspended or dismissed servants was not valid without the consent of the Board; neither could the Court of Directors grant any sum beyond £600 without their concurrence.

Episcopal establishment.

An episcopal establishment was also authorized. Petitions had been presented to Parliament from various parts of the kingdom, praying that provisions might be made for the resort of missionaries and other persons to India, who should be desirous of proceeding to that country, for the purpose of introducing among the natives useful knowledge and religious and moral improvement. The apprehension of danger, from attempts to diffuse a knowledge of the Christian religion amongst the natives, appears to have encreased with the extension of our power. It will be seen that in the earlier periods of the Company's history, measures were taken for the diffusion of Christianity amongst their own immediate servants, and likewise the natives. By the Charter of 1698, the Company were bound to maintain a minister and schoolmaster in every garrison and superior factory, and to set apart a decent place for the performance of divine worship. They were also required to have a chaplain to every ship of five hundred tons or upwards, whose salary was to commence from the ship sailing outwards. Such ministers were to be approved by the Archbishop of Canterbury or the Bishop

of

1813.

of London, and were to be at all times entertained with proper respect. Resident ministers in India were to learn the "Portuguese and Hindoo languages, to enable them to instruct the Gentoos and others in the Christian religion." On the union of the two Companies in 1708, it was declared by the charter, that the chaplain should have precedence next after the fifth member of council at the factory.

Desire of the East-India Company to disseminate the Bible and Protestant doctrines.

The Company's records afford many instances of the interest which was felt in very early periods of their establishment, to promote the diffusion of the Christian faith; one or two will now be cited. In February 1659, writing to Madras, the Court stated:

> We are content that Mr. Isaacson had been prevailed upon for his longer stay with you, not doubting but that during his abode with you it hath, and will be his endeavour and study to promote the glory of God, and to instruct our people in the knowledge and fear of the Almighty. It hath pleased a worthy member of our society, Mr. Thomas Rich, to present us with six volumes of books, containing the Old and New Testament in several languages, it being his desire that they may be sent to remain in your factories, hoping it may be a means to propagate and spread the Gospel in those parts, which is his and our earnest desire by all means possible to advance and further. We have, therefore, laden them on our ship *Smyrna Merchant*, and recommend them (as a choice gift) unto you, to be carefully preserved and made use of for that intent and purpose for which they are designed. The like volumes the said Mr. Rich hath given to be sent to Surat.

Again,

Again, in the year 1663: 1813.

We have entertained Mr. Simon Smithers, a minister of God's word: one that we hope will not only by his preaching and doctrine instruct and direct our people in their way to happiness, but also in his life and conversation be an example of holiness; he proceeds on the *Coronation*. We have made his salary £50 per annum, and have also disbursed the sum of —— in books, a list whereof we herewith send you, which books we do appoint shall remain in the Fort, for the use of any succeeding minister after the return or decease of the said Mr. Smithers.

And to the agents and Council there in 1677:

We now send you a supply of one hundred bibles and two hundred catechisms, which we would have you dispose of there and at our subordinate factories, to such as you think will make the best use of them; and when any shall be able to repeat the catechism by heart, you may give to each of them two rupees for their encouragement; and now that you have so many married families and children, for their due education we send one Mr. Ralph Orde to be schoolmaster at our Fort, at the salary of £50 per annum, to commence from the time of his embarking here; who is to teach all the children to read English, and to write and cipher, gratis; and if any of the other nations, as Portuguese, Gentoos, or other, will send their children to school, we require that they be also taught gratis, and you are to appoint some convenient place for this use; and he is likewise to instruct them in the principles of the Protestant religion; and he is to diet at our table. He hath received £5 here in part of his salary, which you are to deduct there.

The Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, whose

1813.

whose labours had been directed to the same objects, having represented, in March 1744, that there were some vacancies by the removal of missionaries on the coast, the Court advised their having permitted the Rev. Mr. Klein and the Rev. Mr. Breithaupt to take passage upon those ships, in order to carry on that good work among the Indians.

In 1752 the Court agreed that the missionaries sent out by the Society for promoting Christian Knowledge should have the use of a church at Cuddalore and at Madras—to continue in possession of them during pleasure.

And as a further encouragement to the said missionaries to exert themselves in propagating the Protestant religion, we do hereby empower you to give them, at such times as you shall think proper, in our name, any sum of money, not exceeding five hundred pagodas, to be laid out in such manner, and appropriated to such uses as you shall approve of; and you are hereby directed to give us, from time to time, an account of the progress made by them in educating children and increasing the Protestant religion, together with your opinion upon their conduct in general, and what further encouragement they deserve.

In 1752 the Court wrote to Bombay:

As it will be greatly for the interest of the Company to have as many of the soldiery and other our dependants in the presidency of Bombay, instructed in the principles of the Protestant religion, we have thought proper to add two more chaplains to your establishment, who are to reside at Tellicherry and Anjengo, or wherever else you shall think proper to station them so as will best answer our intentions; and

1813.

and that we may have the advantage of a rising generation instructed in the same principles, we recommend it to you to form a plan for the setting up and establishing charity-schools, wherein the children of our soldiers, mariners, topasses, and others, may be educated as well at the subordinates as at Bombay. When you can reduce your plan to practice, you may depend upon our giving an assistance becoming the Company, and we most earnestly recommend it to every one of our servants, and others who are in good circumstances, to contribute freely to an undertaking of such utility to the presidency in general.

When schools are erected in consequence of this recommendation, our chaplains are frequently to visit them, to see what improvement the children make, and to give their utmost assistance in instructing and confirming them in the principles and profession of the Protestant religion.

The foregoing extracts evince the desire which existed in former times to extend the blessings of Christianity in a country from whence England derived such pecuniary advantages.

General Remarks.

Religion is not to be propagated by the sword, or by force ; but lukewarmness on the one hand, and intemperance on the other, has each in its turn been of great injury to the cause of Christianity, whilst ignorance presents the strongest and safest grounds upon which imposture can be erected. Thus Mahomedanism with all its horrors of despotism, united with the less fierce but not less destructive creed of the Hindoo, have placed the millions in the East in the wretched state of moral degradation and idolatrous impurity, pandering to the passions of ignorant and besotted myriads,

1813.

myriads, and enchaining them in a slavery both of body and soul, from which it may be the privilege of a British Government to take measures for emancipating them.

Great and laudable anxiety is manifested to communicate the improvements of law and the discoveries of science. Why should there be a hesitation in desiring to impart to the natives of India juster notions on the subject of religion?

Interesting acts of native Christian villages in Tinnevelley.

We have the testimony of one of the Company's own chaplains, an estimable and exemplary minister of the established church, who, visiting in the south of Tinnevelley, found in the centre, *two entire* Christian villages, one of five hundred and the other of four hundred native Christians, with regular churches, native priests, catechists, and boys' and girls' schools. They were living as Christians, in harmony, without a vestige of idolatry to be seen in either village, nor an idol to be found. Regular service in the church was held daily. Groups of women were to be seen assembled together under the shade of the palmyra tree, spinning cotton and singing their Lutheran hymns to the motion of their wheels, while the men were at the same time labouring in the field. "It was like an oasis in the moral desert of the immense country." The Hindoo teshildar* bore the strongest testimony to their conduct, as being an inoffensive quiet people; and that he should rejoice if all the inhabitants

* A native collector under an European.

inhabitants around were like them. The name of the one village was Mothelloor, the other Nazareth. They were a part of the labours of the Christian Knowledge Society in Tinnevelly. They had been without a missionary for ten years.

1813.

The late Sir Thomas Munro, writing from Madras on the 12th of October 1820, observed :

Opinion of Sir Thos. Munro.

I should expect more benefit from the circulation of short tracts by the natives, or of translations of short European tracts by natives, than from translations precipitately made of the Bible, or any great work, by the missionaries. I have no faith in the power of any missionary to acquire, in four or five years, such a knowledge of any Indian language as to enable him to make a respectable translation of the Bible. I fear that such translations are not calculated to inspire becoming reverence for the book. In place of translating the Bible into ten or twelve languages in a few years, I would rather see twenty years devoted to its translation into one. If we hope for success, we must proceed gradually, and adopt the means by which we may be likely to attain it. The dissemination of knowledge is, I think, the surest way; and if we can prevail upon the native princes to give it the support you propose, it will be a good beginning. I shall communicate with the Resident of Tanjore on the subject; and if the Rajah, who is now near Conjeveram on his way to Cassi, calls here, I will mention it to him.

The opinions thus cautiously advanced by an authority so much looked up to as Sir Thomas Munro, may tend to remove objections in minds unaccustomed to consider the general question of

1813. of supplanting the deep-rooted and universal prevalence of idolatry by the introduction of the purer and milder principles of the Christian faith.

Education has been widely extended—the work of translating the Scriptures has advanced beyond the most sanguine expectation, and with the aid of such learning as to leave little ground for apprehension; the distribution of tracts has likewise kept pace with the other means for disseminating the truth, free from party spirit or the dominance of any particular establishment.

The population of the whole world has been stated at eight hundred millions, and that there are not more than seven hundred missionaries, including those of the United Kingdom and of America, engaged in diffusing a knowledge of the Scriptures among mankind—giving one missionary to each million of souls.

"When we contemplate the self-laceration and torture of the poor Hindoo—his swinging on hooks that tear his very flesh from his bones—his walking on spikes—his stiffening his arm above his head—his burning his sightless eye-balls in their sockets in the sun—and yet, after all this wretched torment and agony, his fear lest the flesh should not be quite annihilated and be absorbed into pure spirit"—sufficient motives are presented to aid in diffusing a knowledge of that book which has been well described as

Adapted

Adapted to the wants and miseries of man; which can rise to the highest grade of civilization, and stoop to the lowest point of the most debased barbarism; which can satisfy all the demands of the most exalted intellect, and be a feast to the degraded Pariah, the wildest Arab of the desert, the rude and unlettered Hottentot.

CHAPTER XIV.

1813.

AMIDST the fluctuating counsels and conflicting interests connected with the administration of British India, junctures of particular emergency arose which called for men of enlightened minds, capable of taking an enlarged view of the policy required by existing circumstances, and who were not to be deterred by personal apprehensions from encountering responsibility.

Earl of Moira arrives as Governor-general.

Such was the state of affairs when the Marquess of Hastings, then Earl of Moira, was nominated Governor-general.* The Earl of Minto resigned the government to his lordship on the 4th of October 1813. Lord Moira's attention was in the first instance directed to the state of the military establishments, upon which he communicated his sentiments to the Court, and observed, that the army under the presidency of Madras was more numerous than necessary, whilst that in Bengal was insufficient to meet the demands of the service. The subject was subsequently alluded to in a letter from the Government, whose opinion not only coincided with that of the Governor-general,

Military establishments.

* 18th November 1812.

1814.

general, but was strengthened by the conduct of some insurgent chiefs in Arracan, and by the state of affairs in Chittagong and Nepaul.

Affairs of Nepaul.

The Nepaulese had made progressive encroachments since the mission of Captain Kinloch in 1765. Between the years 1787 and 1812, more than two hundred villages had been usurped by the Goorkas.* Various disputed questions had arisen regarding the boundary between the two governments, including some portion of the Oude territory. Colonel Bradshaw was deputed by the Governor-general to negotiate for their settlement, in the hope that ulterior measures might be avoided. The pretensions of the Nepaulese commissioners, and their overbearing manner towards Colonel Bradshaw, rendered all accommodation hopeless. The necessity of operations, for the purpose of maintaining the rights of the British Government and its allies, became indispensable: it was also important to convince the nemy that they could not persevere in a course of encroachment and defiance with impunity. No pains were spared by the Government to arrive at a just conclusion regarding the rights of the British power, which were established beyond all question, after the most minute and laborious investigation. The

enemy

* Natives of Nepaul, called Goorkas, from a place of that name, from which they issued about seventy years ago, and gradually reduced the various hill chiefs of the country. The Goorkas being Hindoos, those in the valleys of Nepaul, called Newars, are Boodhists in religion.

1814.

enemy met these facts by unfounded and contradictory assertions; the greatest prevarication and evasion, with an entire absence of all truth in their statements, characterized the whole course of their proceedings. The passion of the Goorkas for war had been inflamed by their successes over the hill chiefs beyond Kemaon, in which they had met with no check until the result of their attack on Koli Kangra, and the successful opposition made by Runjeet Sing to their advance in that direction. The Court of Directors had expressed a belief that hostilities would be unavoidable, and the Governor-general was satisfied that the course which he felt constrained to adopt would be regarded as one of unimpeachable justice and necessity. As protracted operations might involve the Government in a contest at a less favourable juncture of affairs, he prohibited all commercial intercourse with the Nepaulese, and withdrew the Company's factories from the Goorka provinces of Gurrwhal and Kumadon; the supracargoes at Canton being apprized of the actual state of relations with Nepaul, for the purpose of guarding against any unfavourable impressions on the minds of the Chinese.

War with Nepaul.

It was now perceived, that a very erroneous estimate had been formed of the character of the enemy with whom we were about to contend. The immense extent of the Nepaul frontier, and the

1814.

the exposed condition of our own; the strength of the Goorka country, and the novelty of the service to the troops, who were accustomed to an entirely different species of warfare from that which was to be entered upon, combined to render the plan of operations one of considerable difficulty and anxious deliberation. The Governor-general accordingly determined to divide his forces into four divisions. The principal, consisting of about eight thousand troops, under Major-general Marley, was to act against the capital of Catmandoo, by the route of Muckwanpore. The second, under Major-general Wood, was to proceed from Goruckpore, for the purpose of resuming the lands in Bootwul and Sheoraj, and then to menace Pulpa. The third, under Major-general Gillespie, was to proceed from Seharunpore, and seize the passes of the rivers Jumna and Ganges, in order to prevent the retreat of the enemy to the eastward; while Major-general Ochterlony was to act against the western provinces of the Goorkas, under Ummeer Sing Thappa. The forces of the Company were combined with those furnished by the protected hill states, and were to endeavour to expel the enemy from their conquests between the Jumna and the Sutlej. A complete latitude was given to General Ochterlony, with authority to impart to Runjeet Sing, previously to his marching from Loodianah, the general object of his intended movement. In order to satisfy the Maharaja of

our

1814. our friendly feelings and intentions, General Ochterlony was to apprize him, if needful, that an offer had been made by Ummeer Sing Thappa to unite with the Company against him.

Instructions were given to Mr. Metcalfe, the resident at Delhi, to institute inquiries of a political nature relative to the exiled Rajah of Sreenuggur, for the purpose of effecting an opening which might command the great roads of Tartary. In furtherance of these views Mr. Fraser, the assistant at Delhi, was deputed to Hurdwar, and afterwards instructed to join General Gillespie's division. In the prosecution of his mission he submitted an interesting report on the families and government of the Rajahs of Sreenugger and Ghurwall. The exiled rajah, Soodenun Sah, was the fiftieth consecutive uninterrupted successor to the raj, his great-grandfather having become heir of the rajahship before his birth, and continued to govern all his life, dying at the age of seventy-two. His grandson, Jyrunt Sabe, dying without issue, his widow, then only ten years of age, burnt herself with the body of her husband. The commercial intercourse between Ghurwal and Bootan consisted chiefly of exports of small quantities of cloth, and a good deal of grain, returned by gold, cow-tails, and nirbes, a medical root, Bootan horses of a very small breed, musk, salt, and a small quantity of China cloth. But Kemaon possessed great advantages over Ghurwal as a connecting

Nepaul war.

1814.

necting district between India and Tartary, Bootan and China, on account of the easiness of passage and convenience of intercourse. Borax, salt, gold, cow-tails, nirbes, shawls, blankets, fine and coarse wool, and shawl-wool, were sold at the fairs.

Efficient state of the Goorka troops.

The forces of the Goorkas were estimated altogether at twelve thousand men. They were for the most part clothed, armed, and disciplined, in imitation of the Company's sepoys; being sedulous in copying our military system and institutions. Their soldiers were found to be courageous, active, robust, obedient and patient under great privations, as well as intelligent and quick of apprehension. The natural strength of their country, the choice which they had of positions, and their peculiar mode of warfare, gave them great advantages. The troops sent against them under the four divisions amounted to more than double their numbers. The Goorka officer commanding on the frontier having issued orders for poisoning all the wells, the Governor-general directed any party discovered acting under such an atrocious command to be put to instant death, whatever might be his rank or condition.

Opening of the campaign.

The campaign commenced by the seizure of the Timlay pass into the Deyra Doon, on the 20th August, by the troops under Colonel Carpenter; and by that of the Kheree pass, on the 24th, under General Gillespie, who afterwards fell, in his heroic

1814.
Gen. Gillespie killed.

heroic but too hasty assault of the fort of Kalunga, on the 30th October, in which Colonel Carpenter and Major Ludlow advanced most gallantly, and where Major Richards also highly distinguished himself. General Martindall unfortunately exhibited, during these operations, an excess of caution; the movements, at the same time, of General Wood from Goruckpore, proved wholly abortive; whilst that of General Marly drew down the severe animadversion of the commander-in-chief, as evincing the grossest neglect and impotency.

1815.

The operations in Kemaon repaid in some measure the disappointment experienced by the Governor-general. Colonel Nicolls, aided by Lieut.-colonel Gardiner and Major Patton, were detached by the Governor-general against Almorah. A force under Major Patton having displayed great gallantry in attacking and defeating a body of the enemy, (their chief being mortally wounded,) Col. Nicolls at once determined to attack the fort of Almorah, which he took by assault in the most rapid and brilliant manner, and then carried on operations against other forts, still held by the enemy. The commanding officer and troops in these operations gained the most unqualified applause of the Governor-general. On the east of the river Coosie, Capt. Latter displayed good judgment, and rendered valuable service in his negotiations with the Rajah of Siccim, who manifested

fested a most determined spirit of opposition to the Goorkas.

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Success of Gen. Ochterlony.

Major-general Ochterlony, who had been engaged in ineffectual negotiations with Ummeer Sing Thappa, the commander-in-chief of the Goorka force, advanced against the enemy's position at Rhamgur. The country was extraordinarily rugged, and nearly impassable for elephants, which presented almost insurmountable difficulties to the transport of ordnance and stores: but by a persevering and judicious course of proceeding he overcame these obstacles, and achieved a series of brilliant exploits on the heights of Malown, in the course of which Lieut.-colonel Thomson, Lieut.-colonel Arnold, Major Lawrie, and other officers, highly distinguished themselves; Ummeer Sing having been within musket-shot distance, with his colours in his hand urging on his troops. This success against the Ramghur range of forts obliged the enemy to confine himself to the fort of Malown, and caused him great distress by occasioning numerous desertions: nevertheless, Ummeer Sing evinced no disposition to surrender. General Ochterlony accordingly pushed on operations against the fort, and gained possession successively of all the outworks and stockades: when he had completed his preparations for battering the fort, and had brought his ordnance within a short distance, Ummeer Sing consented to capitulate. All the forts westward of the Jumna in the possession of

Cessation of hostilities.

the

1815. the Goorkas, were to be surrendered to the British force. The forts in Gurhwal were also to be evacuated, by the Goorka troops retiring by the Kemaon route across the Kali.

Ummeer Sing, with the remaining garrison of Malown, was to retire across the Kali, with their arms, private baggage, and families, and two guns.

Runjore Sing, in like manner, was allowed to depart from Jyetuck with three hundred unarmed followers and one gun; a similar option was extended to persons in other forts.

The countries between the Jumna and Sutlej were placed under the military command and political control of Colonel Ochterlony, who was appointed superintendant of political affairs, and agent of the Governor-general in the territories of the Seiks and the hill chieftains. Mr. Fraser was to proceed to Sreenugger, with the designation of commissioner for the settlement of Ghurwal, and to report on all points on which the Governor-general required information. Mines of iron, lead, and copper, were stated to be in Kemaon, which if worked by European skill would prove productive. Hemp of a very superior kind was also furnished from thence in abundance, whilst a road was secured to the Oondes, or country possessing the shawl-wool.

This apparent termination of hostilities with the state of Nepaul was suspended by an indisposition

1815.

position on the part of the Rajah to agree to the required concessions. Communications were carried on between an agent from Catmandoo and Colonel Bradshaw, the political agent in Nepaul; the latter being furnished, on the 15th June, with the basis of a treaty, which the Governor-general was prepared to ratify, should the negotiation with Gooroo Gujraj Misser prove satisfactory. The Hon. Edward Gardner was at the same time authorized to negotiate with Choutree Bum Sah, who commanded on the banks of the Kali. The utmost desire was evinced by the Governor-general to modify the demands of the British Government, and to render the stipulated cession as little objectionable as possible to the court of Catmandoo. On the 28th of November the agent from the Rajah arrived at Segowley, having been previously detained by alleged indisposition. After some delay, he signed, with Lieut.-colonel Bradshaw, the treaty, which it was agreed should be ratified by the Rajah within fifteen days from the date on which it was executed and ratified by the Governor-general in Council. The period within which it was calculated the ratification from Catmandoo would arrive having expired without any communication, some doubts arose as to the good faith of the accredited agent. On the 5th of January a despatch was received by the Supreme Government from Captain Bradshaw, dated the 28th December, stating that delay had arisen at Catmandoo,

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mandoo, occasioned by the intrigue of Ummeer Sing Thappa, and that the agents had quitted Colonel Bradshaw the same day, for the purpose of proceeding to Catmandoo, where they apprehended they should receive the ratification. The Governor-general, in the belief that fresh operations might be indispensable, determined to commit to Sir David Ochterlony the conduct of the campaign. That officer had arrived at Dinapore, and was entrusted with the sole conduct of all political arrangements with the Goorka government. The force assembled on the occasion consisted of four divisions; that under Sir D. Ochterlony was composed of 19,394 troops; Colonel Nicolls, 6,617; Major-general Wood, 4,866; Captain Latter, 2,445; making a total of 33,321 men.

Hostilities renewed.

Sir D. Ochterlony advanced through the great Saul forest, to the foot of the pass of Buhiaki, leading to Muckwanpore, which frontier he reached at the close of January. From Muckwanpore he transmitted detailed accounts of several severe contests in which he had been engaged with the enemy, who had maintained an obstinate attack on the village where the British force was assembled. The fortress of Hurriapore was attacked and taken possession of, being evacuated by the enemy, who were repulsed in a sally they made with desperate bravery.

The treaty of December was ratified on the 15th of

of March, and terminated the war with Nepaul; the Rajah renounced all claim to the lands in discussion before the war; and ceded in perpetuity to the Company the low lands between the Kali and Rapti, and the Rapti and Gunduck, excepting Bootwul. He also ceded the low lands between the Gunduck and Coosi, in which the British authority was introduced. He agreed never to disturb the Rajah of Siccim, and not to receive into his service the subjects of any European state.

1816. Peace concluded.

The affairs of Oude, and the proposed reform in the administration of the Vizier's government, were to have formed the subject of a personal conference between his Excellency and the Governor-general: who, on the 20th of July, in his progress to the Upper Provinces, received intelligence of the vizier, Saadut Ali Khan's death, at Lucknow, on the 11th of that month, after a sudden and severe illness. Through the judicious conduct of Colonel Baillie, the resident, the elder son, Refaut-ood-Dowlah's succession took place without any commotion. He was advised by the Governor-general to assume the title of vizier of the empire, without awaiting the sanction of the Mogul, to whom it was suggested he should address an arzee, as a matter of courtesy. His Excellency's intentions gave promise of a disposition to introduce

Affairs of Oude.

1816. duce all regular forms into his government; but these early expectations were soon disappointed. The Vizier came to Cawnpore to meet the Governor-general; whilst there, on the 11th of October, his Excellency, as a proof of regard to the Company, tendered, by way of loan, the sum of one crore of rupees, and, at a subsequent meeting, proffered it as a free gift. This was declined by the Governor-general; but the sum was accepted as a subscription to the loan at six per cent., the interest to be payable in pensions granted by the Vizier, which were to be transferred to the Company. At a subsequent period, the heavy pressure of the war with Nepaul, led to a communication from the Governor-general, through the Resident, for a further loan of one crore, which was ultimately granted by the Vizier on the most friendly terms.* This circumstance, together with the discussion on the proposed references, and the views of the Vizier, with the intended mode of satisfying him for the loan of the first crore, were made known to the Court of Directors, in March 1816: they replied, in September 1817, in terms of general approbation, expressing their concurrence in his lordship's opinion, that in construing the terms of the recorded engagements with the Vizier, it was required by every principle of justice, that the most liberal and comprehensive meaning should be given to such articles of the treaty of 1801 "as were

* Letter from Lord Moira, 15th August 1815.

were in favour of that party, whose weakness presents no security for him but in that good faith on which he has relied."

1816.

On the conclusion of the Nepaul war, a treaty was entered into with the Vizier, on the 16th May 1816, ceding to his Excellency, in full and perpetual sovereignty, the district of Kyreghur, also the low lands between that and the hills, with other countries; in consideration of which, the debt of the second crore of rupees was entirely annulled by the Vizier.

Scindiah and the Rajah of Berar.

During the early part of the war with Nepaul, Scindiah and the Rajah of Nagpore had entered into an agreement for reducing the state of Bhopaul. Intelligence of the fact having reached the Governor-general, his lordship adopted immediate measures for counteracting the design.

Cutch.

The people of Cutch, in the district of Wagur, having committed unprovoked depredations in the mehals of the Peishwa and Guicowar, in the peninsula of Kattywar, a force under Colonel East entered and captured the fortress of Anjar. The Rao of Cutch agreed to reimburse the Company, Major Ramsey being sent with a detachment to Wagur, to reduce the uncivilized districts to the authority of the Rao. His subjects were not to cross the gulph of Runn for hostile purposes. The fortress of Anjar was ceded to the Company. The Rao engaged to suppress the practice of piracy, and to make good depredations committed from his

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his forts. The district of Wagur was to undergo a thorough reform. The slaughter of bullocks being at variance with the religion of the Jharejahs and the greater portion of the natives of Cutch, the Company agreed to abstain from violating the religious prejudices of the Rao's subjects.*

During the operations against Nepaul, and the settlement of the points between the Rao of Cutch and the Guicowar, with the affairs of Scindiah and Bhopaul, the conduct of the court of Poonah towards the Guicowar presented matter which demanded the interposition of the British Government.

Proceedings at Poonah.

Trimbuckjee Danglia, a menial servant of the Peishwa, had ingratiated himself into favour with his master, and become the efficient prime minister, although Sedasheo Munkaseir still retained that character. Repeated infractions of the treaty of Bassein had taken place whilst the Company stood in the character of arbitrator between the courts of Poonah and Baroda. The farm at Ahmedabad had been granted, with other lands, on a ten years' lease, from the Peishwa to the Guicowar: its renewal being an important object with the latter, a negotiation was opened for that purpose, and had reference also to the Peishwa's interest and direct influence in Guzerat. In order to settle these points, Gungadhur Shastry was deputed by the Guicowar to Poonah. The great evasion

* Treaty, January 1816.

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evasion which he encountered determined him to return to Baroda, and to leave the points to be arbitrated by the British Government. Every endeavour was made to induce the Shastry to relinquish this intention; the Peishwa and Trimbuckjee entirely changing their conduct towards him. Bajee Rao, the Peishwa, even went so far as to propose that one of his daughters should be married to the Shastry's son. Deceived by these appearances, the Shastry abandoned his intention of quitting the Peishwa's court, and even consented to accompany his highness and Trimbuckjee on a pilgrimage to Nassick, and thence on a visit of devotion to Punderpore, leaving, at the earnest entreaty of the Peishwa and his minister, most of his attendants at Poonah. On the 14th of July 1815, the Shastry went to an entertainment given to the Peishwa, and on his return home he complained of fever, and desired that if any person came to request him to go to the temple, they would say he was indisposed. In the course of half an hour, a message for that purpose came from Trimbuckjee; it was repeated three times. To avoid offending Trimbuckjee, he consented to go. Having been to the temple and conversed with Trimbuckjee, he proceeded on his return home, when he was attacked by five armed men, and literally cut to pieces. The Shastry's people having searched for the "bits of his body," picked them up and carried them home. On these

Guicowar's minister murdered.

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1816.

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1816. circumstances coming to the knowledge of the resident, Mr. Elphinstone, he demanded of the Peishwa that immediate measures should be taken for apprehending Trimbuckjee. After some difficulty, he was delivered up and confined in the fort of Tannah, from whence he escaped in December 1816.

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Pindarrie war. The Governor-general's attention was now directed to carrying on operations for the purpose of exterminating the Pindarries. In January 1816 large bodies of them had appeared on the northern banks of the Kistna, with the supposed intention of making inroads into territories subject to Madras. The rapidity with which these barbarians moved was scarcely to be believed; a circumstance which, coupled with the still more extraordinary intelligence they possessed, baffled all attempts to intercept their retreat.

The difficulty of obtaining any information regarding these marauders was greatly enhanced, by the fear which their depredations had infused amongst the people. Their success increased the natural ferocity of their manners, devastation, violation, and death being the horrid concomitants of their route. To escape the misery attendant upon their irruptions, families assembled together, and the torch was applied to the destruction of their habitations, in which they themselves perished,

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rished, rather than fall a prey to the intolerable scourge of such ruthless barbarians. The state and growing power of the Pindarries had been brought to the notice of the Home authorities in a secret letter from Bengal, in August 1811, and on repeated occasions in 1812, when the Governor-general stated, that every prevention that it was practicable to adopt with the limited number of troops, especially of cavalry, compared with the great extent of the Company's dominions, was in progress; but all such measures were merely palliations, and it was confidently anticipated that the necessity would arise at some future time for undertaking a system of military and political operations calculated to strike at the root of this great and increasing evil.

On this, as on other leading points of policy, regarding the events which were considered by the Government to call for action on the part of the Supreme Council, much difference of opinion existed in the judgment of parties, whose experience in the general affairs of India was entitled to the greatest deference.

The late Sir Thomas Munro considered the force of the Pindarries to be greatly exaggerated, and that they possessed very little strength. If such were the facts, the inexcusable inertness of the Madras Government, in not securing the territories under their control from the inroads of such barbarians, was most culpable; but the state of

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of that Government, at the period in question, appears to have been matter of astonishment, even amongst the leading civil and military authorities.

Lord Moira defers hostilities for some time.

The instructions from Home, based upon the principle of abstaining from all extended operations, or plans of general confederacy, had led the Governor-general to pause in pursuing those measures which he saw could alone effectually suppress these marauders. His lordship was, however, apprized in 1815, that the Court's instructions were not intended to restrain the exercise of his discretion upon any occasion where actual war upon the Company's territories might be commenced, and where the lives and properties of British subjects might call for efficient protection.

It is difficult to comprehend the policy which, under any circumstances, prohibited the application of means to repress such atrocities, without an appeal being first made to Europe, and an answer received from thence. Yet such was the fact: and a governor-general who acted in opposition to such a system, did so at the risk of his best interests and reputation. The Supreme Council at length felt it necessary to represent to the Court, that the annual expenditure of such a course exceeded the most extravagant calculations of the cost of a vigorous and decided system of measures, which could alone effectually destroy the evil—mere temporising measures being wholly inadequate

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inadequate to its remedy; and that they had consequently determined, without further delay,

That the adoption of vigorous measures for the early suppression of the Pindarries, had become an indispensable obligation of public duty.

General arrangements

Sir Thomas Hislop commands army of the Deccan.

The disposition of the combined force assembled by order of the Governor-general and commander-in-chief, exhibited a masterly conception of the nature and extent of the countries to be occupied, and of the principal points to be taken up. The general movement, owing to the rains, and the indisposition of Sir Thomas Hislop, to whom the command of the army in the Deccan was confided, were delayed till the month of November 1816. The Governor-general marched from Cawnpore, and crossed the Jumna on the 26th of October, fixing his station on the Scind on the 16th of November, as being a central position between the forces stationed to the north-west, and those in Bundlecund and Chota Nagpore. General Martindall, in Bundlecund, was to advance towards Saugor, to co-operate with the right of Sir Thomas Hislop's army, which was formed of Lieut.-colonel Adams' division. The right division of the Bengal army, under Major-general Donkin, was to advance towards Dhalpore, on the Chumbul, while the reserve, under Sir David Ochterlony, at Paree, was to cover Delhi, in order to support the negotiations with the Rajpoot states and Ameer Khan, and eventually

1816. eventually to attack the latter, or interpose between him and Holkar.

Another force, under Brig.-general Toone, was to assemble at Oontaree, on the frontier of Behar, to protect the line of the Upper Soane, communicating on its left with the Ramghur battalion, which was advanced to the frontier of Chota Nagpore.

Another force, under Brig.-general Hardyman, was to assemble at Mirzapore, and advance into Rewa. The force in Cuttuck was deemed sufficient to guard that frontier against the enemy.

The first division of the troops of the Deccan was commanded by Sir Thomas Hislop in person; the second, under Brig.-general Doveton, was to be posted in the neighbourhood of Akola; the third was under Sir John Malcolm, who pushed forward and crossed the Nerbuddah, near Hindah, on the 15th of November, in order to strike a blow against the Pindarries; the fourth, under Brig.-general Smith, was to advance to a position to cover the Peishwa's territory, and operate eventually against Holkar's possessions in the Deccan, besides being at hand to overawe the Peishwa. A respectable force was maintained at Hydrabad, Poonah, and Nagpore. A corps of reserve was assembled on the frontiers of the ceded districts under Madras; while Brig.-general Munro, who was engaged in settling the southern territory recently ceded by the Peishwa, was to occupy that

that country with a separate detachment; the whole being under the more immediate command of Sir Thomas Hislop. To complete the line, Major-general Sir William Grant Keir had a force in Guzerat, which was assembled in front of Baroda, prepared to move into Malwa, and to cooperate, according to circumstances, with Sir Thomas Hislop's division.

1816.

Captain Close was the resident at Scindiah's court. Sir Charles (then Mr.) Metcalfe, was with Holkar at Delhi; Mr. Jenkins, at Nagpore; Mr. Russell, at Hydrabad; and Mr. Elphinstone, at Poonah.

The extent and power of the assembled force astonished Scindiah, who had calculated on the Pindarries making their excursions, and effecting their retreat, comparatively unmolested. The hopelessness of this result led him to fall in with the propositions of the Governor-general, which were negotiated with great zeal, intelligence, and temper, by Captain Close, qualities that were conspicuous throughout the whole of that officer's proceedings. Besides agreeing to aid in the extirpation of the Pindarries, the forts of Hindia and Asseerghur were to be garrisoned by British troops: the flag of Scindiah was still to fly at the latter fortress, he engaging not to leave the fortress of Gwalior during the impending operations. In order to prevent the revival of the predatory system in any shape, the British Government was to

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to be at liberty to form engagements with the states of Oodapore, Joudpore, and Kotah, with that of Boondee and others on the left of the Chumbul: but whatever tribute was received by Scindiah from such states, was to be secured to him.

Duplicity of Scindiah.

During these negotiations, two messengers, conveying letters from Scindiah's durbar to the court of Catmandoo, were arrested. Waxen impressions of Scindiah's great seal were discovered to be in their possession, and likewise letters concealed between leaves glued together of a Sanscrit book in their charge. The open letters and covers were ultimately sent to the resident at Catmandoo, who was instructed not to make known the fact to the durbar there; but to watch its proceedings, while the sealed letters were to be delivered publicly to Scindiah, merely apprizing him of the manner in which they had come into our hands. These orders were ably executed by Captain Close, Scindiah not attempting any exculpation.

1817.
Treachery of the Peishwa.

Early in this year (1817) intelligence had been received by Mr. Elphinstone, that Trimbuckjee Dangliah* was at Phultaum, where he remained the greater part of February, changing his residence to Punderpore, and extending his range as far as the forts of Talsore and Mymungur; that he had collected upwards of three thousand horse; that he was in constant communication with Poonah,

* *Vide* page 514.

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Poonah, and intended to set up his standard on the 18th of March. Mr. Elphinstone had strong grounds for believing that the Peishwa was privy to all these proceedings; he nevertheless treated the insurrection on the part of Trimbuckjee as equally offensive to the Peishwa, and pointed out the necessity of taking measures for putting it down. Gocklah* had gone against the insurgents, and the Peishwa's ministers triumphantly referred to letters from Punderpore, denying that there was any insurrection. In this the Peishwa joined, and called upon Mr. Elphinstone, if he differed in opinion, to take measures for suppressing it—the Peishwa himself being at the moment engaged in raising new levies, and placing his forts in a state of defence. The resident accordingly determined to bring matters to an issue; he noticed to his highness the breach he had committed in his promises, and intimated, that if he persisted in increasing his force, the British Government would feel called upon to take decided measures. Colonel Smith, with his light division, was ordered to draw towards Poonah: he arrived on the 26th April within four miles of that city. On the 7th May, intelligence which the resident received from Cuttack, and the proceedings of the insurgents elsewhere, determined him to demand from the Peishwa that Trimbuckjee should be delivered up; that he should engage within twenty-four hours

Peishwa constrained to come to terms.

* *Vide* page 289.

1817. hours to surrender him within one month from that day, and that he should give up the forts of Shigurh, Poorunder, and Ryeghur, as pledges for fulfilling such engagement: the latter fort was one of uncommon strength. The conduct of the Peishwa had determined the Governor-general to seek securities for the future, in the imposition of restraints; for which purpose a treaty was concluded by Mr. Elphinstone on the 13th June, and ratified on the 25th July by the Supreme Government. The most important feature in this treaty, was the disavowal of the Peishwa's paramount right, as the head of the Mahratta confederacy, and the cessation of the mutual reception of vakeels by the Peishwa and all other states; and the restriction imposed upon the communications of his highness with the foreign powers, except through the medium of agents of the British Government, as such vakeels had been known to carry on clandestine intercourse. The Peishwa renounced all future claims on the Guicowar, which claims had, in fact, arisen from his position as head of the Mahratta confederacy. He was also to be excluded from all concern in the affairs of Guzerat, and he agreed to restore to the Guicowar, in perpetuity, the Ahmedabad farm, at the former rent of four and a-half lacs. The tribute from Kattywar was transferred to the Company. Provision was made to enable the Guicowar to reduce the claims of the Peishwa, by the payment

ment of four lacs per annum, or standing on arbitration.

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In lieu of the contingent force to be supplied in virtue of the treaty of Bassein, the Peishwa was to place at the disposal of the British Government funds for five thousand cavalry and three thousand infantry. The Company acquired the northern circars, with the Peishwa's possessions in Guzerat, and the Kattywar tribute, with an extent of country in the Carnatic, including the strong forts of Darwar and Koosegul. The fort of Ahmednuggur, held by the Company through sufferance, was transferred to them in perpetual sovereignty; likewise all the Peishwa's rights in Bundlecund and Hindostan. He was thus excluded from all connexion or concern with the countries north of the Nerbuddah. Provisions were also made relative to the services of the southern jaghiredars.

Nothing short of absolute and unavoidable necessity could have induced the Peishwa to submit to terms so restrictive and humiliating. It was a virtual renunciation of his authority, an abandonment of his position in the scale of native states, and his reduction to the condition of a vassal of the British power. The treaty of Bassein had been strongly condemned by the Home authorities, for the sacrifice it required at the hands of the Peishwa. As the same authorities had since expressed the strongest objections to the reduction or humiliation of the native states, which, from the

1817. the extent of their dominions and their military habits, were ranked as substantial and protecting powers, it might be naturally inferred that the recent proceedings towards the state of Poonah could not escape animadversion; but it was now acknowledged that the course of events had satisfied the Court of Directors

> Of the irrepressible tendency of our Indian power to enlarge its bounds, and to augment its preponderance, in spite of the most peremptory injunctions of forbearance from home, and of the most scrupulous obedience to them in the Government abroad.*

This admission speaks most forcibly when taken in connexion with the measures which were repeatedly called for under the peculiar circumstances of Marquess Wellesley's administration.

The effects of the treaty to which the Peishwa had consented was felt by his highness in all its degrading consequences. He persevered in following up his military preparations, and refused the request of the resident to send away any portion of the force he had collected at Poonah; and with which he occupied a menacing position in the neighbourhood of the British camp, endeavouring, at the same time, by unremitting means, to corrupt the fidelity of the native troops of the Company's detachment.

These troops were accordingly removed from the position in which they had been placed, to one selected

* Secret Letter to Bengal, 5th January 1818.

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selected by General Smith. This circumstance, with the cantonment being on the alert on the 29th October, the night previous to the arrival of the European regiment, caused by the requisition of the resident, of which the Peishwa had gained intelligence, removed the appearance of that confidence which had been kept up with his highness. His people talked openly of the impending destruction of the Company's detachment; whilst one of the officers was attacked and plundered on his way to Bombay in open day, only two miles from Poonah. Mr. Elphinstone had ordered troops from Seroor—a circumstance which had been noticed by the Peishwa, who, it was stated, had remarked, that it was the third time we had assembled troops at Poonah, and that the last time we had surrounded the city. Mr. Elphinstone assured the vakeel of the Peishwa, that there were sufficient reasons for strengthening the Company's brigade. Subsequent movements induced Mr. Elphinstone, who throughout displayed the most admirable presence of mind and sound judgment, to withdraw the camp at Kirkee. The residency was shortly attacked, plundered, and burned by the Peishwa's troops. Lieut.-colonel Burr advanced to meet them, although possessing a very inadequate force to contend with that of the enemy. A contest took place on the evening of the 5th November, at the instance of Gocklah, in which Mozo Dickshut, one of the ministers entrusted

Outrages on British officers.

Admirable conduct of Hon. Mr. Elphinstone.

Peishwa's troops defeated.

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1817. trusted with the *zurree putkah*, or golden pennon, the standard of the Mahratta empire, was killed. Colonel Burr's force consisted of 2,500, that of the Peishwa being 25,000. The state of the country, and the disposition of the court of Poonah, may be gathered from the fact that Cornets Hunter and Morrison, who had arrived within twenty miles of Poonah, were compelled to lay down their arms and made prisoners; while Captain Vaughan and his brother were seized at Jullygong, on their route to Bombay, and put to death in the most ignominious manner, they offering no resistance. Poonah was taken possession of by General Smith on the 17th of November, and the British flag hoisted at the palace, on the morning of which the Peishwa fled from his ancient capital. As in the matter of the Pindarries, so in that of the Peishwa, the individual who takes an interest in consulting the opinions of the best-informed parties will find that the most opposite conclusions have been apparently arrived at by the same distinguished functionaries. The extension of the subsidiary system in 1805 had led to the retirement of the most enlightened statesman who had ruled in India. Sir Thomas Munro, in a letter to Marquis Hastings, in August 1817, observed:

Capt. Vaughan and his brother murdered.

I have many weighty objections to the employment of a subsidiary force; its inevitable tendency is to bring every native state into which it is introduced, sooner or later, under the exclusive power of the British Government. It has

already

already done this in the Carnatic, it has made some progress in that of the Peishwa and the Nizam, and the whole of the territory of these princes will undoubtedly suffer the same fate as the Carnatic.

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But in the following year, at the close of the war in which Colonel Munro had so highly distinguished himself, as to call forth universal applause,

He considered it fortunate the Peishwa had commenced hostilities, and forced the Government to overthrow his power, the Mahratta Government having been one of devastation from its foundation. It was continually destroying all within its reach, and never repairing. The effects of its system had been the diminution of the wealth and population of a great portion of the peninsula of India.

If such was its character, its annihilation, whether by a subsidiary alliance or direct hostilities, was therefore to be desired.

During these proceedings on the western side of India, Marquis Hastings was following up his plan for exterminating the Pindarries. The next power in importance at the moment which followed the treaty with Scindiah, was the celebrated Ameer Khan,* the Patan chief, who possessed a large force of horse and foot, maintained entirely by the plunder of the states of Jeypore and Joudpore, and others in their vicinity; they had, in fact, been a prey to his rapacity and that of his followers. He had been engaged for two years in plundering

Ameer Khan.

* *Vide* page 454.

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plundering Jeypore; and he had been occupied for nine months against one fort, when the operations now in progress were undertaken. A treaty was concluded through the instrumentality of Mr. Metcalfe, in Nov. 1817, guaranteeing to him, and to his heirs in perpetuity, the possessions he held in Holkar's territories under grants from the Mahahrajah. Ameer Khan was to disband his army, with the exception only of such portion as was requisite for the internal management of his possessions; he was to join in suppressing the Pindarries, and not to enter into negotiation with any person whatever without the sanction of the British Government.

Mr. Metcalfe negotiates with Holkar.

The Governor-general at the same time determined to negotiate, through Mr. Metcalfe, with Holkar, whose state stood, with reference to the Pindarries, in a similar position to that of Scindiah. Since the insanity of its chief, Jeswunt Row, it had fallen rapidly into decay. Toolsah Baee, his favourite mistress, exercised the ascendancy in the public councils. The course of events led to her being placed under restraint, as well as all the other ladies of Holkar's family, through the party who commanded the military, Dherma Kower, a confidential servant, and a man of great personal courage. He obtained possession of the person of the insane chief, as well as of the persons of Toolsah Baee and young Mulhar Row, the infant son of Jeswunt Row by a woman of low

Conduct and death of Dherma Kower.

low rank. This proceeding brought forward Ameer Khan, who, supported by the whole body of the Pindarries, surrounded the troops of Holkar, in order to save the family from the disgrace and danger which they were exposed to by the act of his servant. Dherma, to extricate himself, resorted to the desperate expedient of taking his master with Toolsah Baee and young Mulhar Row into a thick jungle, where he intended to have murdered them, for the purpose of thus removing all causes of contention. A Mahratta chief, when apprized of the circumstance, hastened to the spot, accompanied by such troops as he could collect at the moment, and arrived in time to secure the captives from their state of imminent peril. Dherma and his associate were ordered for immediate execution. The former manifested to the last the daring courage he had invariably exhibited. The executioner having made an ineffectual blow at his neck with one hand, Dherma turned towards him, and with a stern look said, "Take both hands, you rascal: after all it is the head of Dherma that is to be cut off!" This fact is related by Sir John Malcolm, who received an account of it from a witness of the scene, and the expressions of Dherma were confirmed by the executioner, who was at Indore in 1832.

Jeswunt Row Holkar's death took place in 1811, when Toolsah Baee, who continued to conduct the affairs, placed on the musnud his infant son,

 Mulhar

1816. Mulhar Row. An attempt was shortly afterwards made to subvert the authority of Toolsah Baee, supposed to have been instigated by Scindiah, for the purpose of setting aside Mulhar Row. The plot was defeated, through the instrumentality of Ameer Khan, from whom Toolsah Baee heard that she was publicly represented as an abandoned woman. The truth of this representation caused her the greater irritation. A plan had at this time been devised for obtaining pecuniary aid from Scindiah, by ceding to him a portion of the Holkar territory: it did not succeed. A second attempt to effect the same object caused a mutiny of the whole of his army, which compelled Toolsah Baee to flee with young Holkar; a succession of extraordinary events followed, involving treacheries and murders. Among the latter was that of Balasaur Seit, the dewan. He was suspected of being the chief instigator of the revolt on the part of the commanders of the troops, and of their persisting in their clamorous demands. At the command of Toolsah Baee, Balasaur's head was struck off. The troops cherished an active resentment against her on account of this murder. A spontaneous application having been made from Holkar's government for our protection, the Governor-general concluded that state was willing to enter cordially into his views. Mr. Metcalfe delegated to Captain Tod the charge of conducting the negotiation; but it soon became apparent that a great

great change had taken place at Holkar's court. Engagements had been entered into between Scindiah and Holkar, adverse to the British interests. It was intended to have acted upon them slowly and with caution, but the proceedings of Bajee Row precipitated a rupture. The party who espoused the cause of the Peishwa received an advance of a lac and sixty thousand rupees from the agents of his highness, a part of which sum was distributed to the troops. The army under Sir Thomas Hislop accordingly crossed the Nerbudda in November. The advanced divisions, under General Malcolm and Colonel Adams, were sufficient to cope with the Pindarries; but Sir Thomas, in accordance with the orders of the Governor-general, intended to advance into Malwa, although the accounts from Mr. Jenkins, the resident at Nagpore, led to the conclusion that the Rajah would commence hostilities.

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Early in the month of December, the whole of the forces of Holkar had assembled about twenty miles from Mahidpore, to which place they afterwards marched, in full expectation of success and large pecuniary gains from their operations. On the morning of the 20th of December young Holkar was enticed away from the tent in which he was playing, and at the same moment a guard was placed over Toolsah Baee. This happened on the morning; at night Toolsah Baee was taken from her palanquin to the banks

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banks of the Seepra, where her head was severed from her body, and the latter thrown into the river, the common rites of a Hindoo funeral being denied to her remains. She was at the time of this tragical event thirty years of age, handsome, and of fascinating manners, but of an imperious and ungovernable temper and most licentious morals.

Patan chiefs.

The Patan chiefs became clamorous for battle; they broke off the negotiation, and commenced plundering the baggage of the British army. On the 21st December, Sir Thomas Hislop determined to attack the enemy. He had advanced but a short distance, when his line of march was opposed by their horse. He found the main army advantageously posted on the banks of the Seepra, nearly opposite to Mahidpore, their left flank protected by the river, their right by a deep ravine; while their line, which could only be approached by one ford, was protected by several ruined villages. The bed of the river presented a cover for the troops in forming, and to turn either of the flanks required a lengthened *détour:* it was accordingly determined to attack them in front. The advance of the columns was ordered to the ford; some light troops immediately passed, followed by the horse artillery, which opened at the enemy's guns. The battery of the foot artillery played from the right bank of the river, in a situation enfiladed by some cannon the

Battle of Mahidpore.

the enemy had placed upon his left, which opened a well-directed fire upon the ford. The first brigade of infantry, after being formed, ascended the bank, and, in co-operation with the light troops, moved to the storm of the enemy's batteries on the left of his position; the advance of their corps being a preconcerted signal for the general attack of the whole line. The operation was performed with great ardour and gallantry; the fire of the enemy was most destructive, but the troops pressed forward in the most undaunted manner; and although the enemy served their guns till they were bayoneted, their whole line was forced at every point, while a charge of cavalry, at the same moment, completed the rout. The whole of the enemy's artillery, amounting to seventy pieces of ordnance, was captured, and he fled towards Rampoorah. The loss on the part of the British was very severe. The assault on the left flank of the enemy was headed with distinguished gallantry by Sir John Malcolm, from whose counsels the commander-in-chief received the greatest aid. Lieut.-colonel Scott, Lieut.-colonel M'Dowall, commanding the brigade of infantry, and Lieut.-colonel Russell and Major J. L. Lushington,* in the brilliant charges of the two brigades of cavalry, received the highest encomiums for their zeal and intrepidity; as likewise Major Noble, in the command of the horse artillery,

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* Now Major-gen. Sir James Law Lushington, K.C.B.

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lery, his arrangements having produced the most destructive effects against the enemy. Lieut.-colonel Morrison, commissary-general, Lieut.-colonel Murray M'Gregor, and Lieut.-colonel the Hon. L. Stanhope, deputy-adjutant and deputy quarter-master-general, were attached to the commander-in-chief, and rendered valuable service.

Siege of Hatrass and Moorgaum.

The unprovoked aggressions of Dya Ram and Bhugwunt Sing, zemindars in the Dooab, who held the two very strong forts of Hatrass and Moorsaum, on the peaceable inhabitants of Agra, —the harbour which they also afforded to thieves and robbers, and their total disregard of all the constituted authorities,—induced the Supreme Government to resent their conduct, especially with reference to the disposition evinced in the Patan population in Rohilcund to rise in opposition to a regulation issued by Government.

Hatrass was considered one of the strongest forts in India, being kept in perfect repair. On the 11th February 1817, the place was invested by the forces under Major-general Marshall. After a fruitless negotiation, the siege was commenced on the 16th. The fortified town was taken on the 23d, when approaches were made to the fort. The works being completed on the 1st March, forty-two mortars and three trenching batteries of heavy guns began to play the following morning: in the evening a magazine in the fort blew up. Dya Ram effected his escape in the darkness of the

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the night, and the remainder of the garrison surrendered.

The Governor-general having taken the field, and the centre division of the grand army being assembled at Secunderabad, information was given to Scindiah of the intentions of the British Government; and a note was delivered to him in October, remonstrating with him for having harboured the freebooters. Discussions took place, which terminated in a treaty on the 5th November: it was ratified by Scindiah on the day following; he engaged to afford every facility to the British troops in their pursuit of the Pindarries through his territories, and to co-operate actively towards their extinction. He was to furnish five thousand auxiliary horse for the service of the campaign, and his country and troops were to be regarded as those of an ally.

Treaty with Scindiah.

Appa Sahib, the rajah of Nagpore, had not observed the terms of the treaty existing between him and the Company; his contingent force was not maintained, and he evinced a strong disposition to support the Peishwa. The Governor-general was led to conclude from the correspondence between Mr. Jenkins (the resident), and the durbar at Nagpore, that hostile intentions were actually cherished by the rajah. These suspicions were strengthened by the circumstance of a khilaut having been sent from Poonah, confirming the appointment of zuree putkali or general, on

Affairs at Nagpore.

Appa

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Appa Sahib. The resident was requested to be present at the ceremonial of investiture: this was declined, as the Peishwa was in a state of hostility with the British Government, and had taken measures for the removal of the valuables from his palace: the principal ministers had followed the example; troops were assembled in the neighbourhood of Seetabuldee in considerable numbers, and guns were pointed to the strongest part of the British position. These circumstances led Mr. Jenkins to conclude that the negotiation on the part of the rajah was delusive: he accordingly made application for reinforcements. In the mean time the troops under Colonel Scott left their cantonments, and took post on the hill of Seetabuldee, which overlooks the residency and city of Nagpore.

Battle of Seetabuldee.

At six o'clock P.M., when further arrangements were in progress to check the enemy, who appeared to be collecting in considerable numbers, an attack was made by the Arabs. They opened a fire on the small party belonging to the resident, and pressed in heavy bodies up the face of the hill against Captain Loyd, who had endeavoured to support his men and maintain his post. At this critical moment Captain Fitzgerald, reinforced by a native officer and twenty-five troopers of the Madras body-guard, charged an immense body of the enemy's horse with their guns, which were captured, and immediately turned upon them. The result of these operations terminated in

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in the defeat of the enemy, who was dispirited by the great and persevering gallantry displayed by the little band attached to the residency. Mr. Jenkins* was present during the whole of the action, and his animated conduct excited the troops to these great exertions. Mr. Sotheby, his assistant, "a gallant gentleman," who had exposed himself in every position, fell severely wounded at the close of the action, and died at the termination of the day. The whole of the troops behaved admirably, the engagement and assaults having lasted during a period of eighteen hours.

Animated conduct of Mr. Jenkins, the resident.

Death of Mr. Sotheby.

Brig.-general Doveton arrived at Nagpore on the 12th December, with reinforcements. Measures were taken to apprize the rajah of the terms which it was proposed to grant him, the troops being in readiness to commence hostilities early in the morning of the 14th, should he not accede to the propositions. They had moved down the hill where they were stationed, as the time had elapsed at which the rajah's determination was to be made known. General Doveton was then informed that the orders had been given to put in his possession, by twelve o'clock, the whole of the rajah's artillery; and that his agent would arrive in camp for that purpose. Instead of acting on this intimation, the first battery of guns was drawn

* Richard Jenkins, Esq., M.P., and a Director of the East-India Company.

1817. drawn out to oppose the advance of the British force; but as General Doveton came unexpectedly upon it, the enemy immediately quitted it. General Doveton then proceeding to attack the enemy's main body, posted in the Luckee-durry gardens, which movement was followed by a discharge from the whole of their batteries. On the 18th December the battery of the British troops opened against the town. On the 26th terms were granted to the enemy, and at two in the afternoon the city was taken possession of by General Doveton. The conduct of the Rajah of Nagpore had determined the Governor-general to exclude him from the musnud; but before his lordship's instructions reached the resident, Mr. Jenkins had, for many weighty and important reasons, promised to restore him to power.

Capture of Nagpore by General Doveton.

1818. On being apprized of the Governor-general's views, he desisted from signing the treaty, otherwise than subject to the Governor-general's confirmation, and on condition of the rajah ceding all his territories north of the Nerbuddah, as well as certain possessions to the southward, and his rights in Berar, Gurwilghur, Sirgoojah, and Jushpore, in lieu of the former subsidy and contingent, and other stipulations, to which the rajah agreed; and he returned to his palace on the 9th of January, which, with the city, were garrisoned by British troops. Lord Hastings was not satisfied that Appa Sahib was sincere. His whole conduct had created just

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just suspicions in the mind of his lordship. They were confirmed by a refusal, on the part of the killedars of the forts of Bhownagurh, Mundelah, and Chandah, to surrender; whilst it also appeared that Appa Sahib kept up intercourse by letter with Bajee Rao and others, who were believed to be opposed to the British interests. Mr. Jenkins, fully alive to these circumstances, made them known in his communications through the Governor-general's secretary. He determined to take measures for securing the rajah's person, and for bringing him from the palace to the residency, should he perceive any reason to apprehend his attempt to escape. Circumstances connected with the murder of Bala Sahib, the late rajah of Nagpore, to which it was believed Appa Sahib was a party, with other incontestable proofs of his treachery, induced Mr. Jenkins, on the 15th of March, to seize his person and convey him to the residency. Three days afterwards, Mr. Jenkins was apprized by Mr. Elphinstone that the Peishwa had received a letter in the hand-writing of Appa Sahib, proposing a combined movement; which was responded to by Bajee Rao, with a scheme for carrying the object into effect. Appa Sahib, with his two ministers, were accordingly sent to the fortress of Allahabad. On the route he made his escape at Raetorah, one march distant from Subbulpore, accompanied in his flight by six sepoys and two of his attendants. Notwithstanding large

Appa Sahib sent to Allahabad; effects his escape on the way.

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large rewards were offered for his seizure, he found an asylum and protection from Chyn Sah, the thakoor of Hurrye. The Governor-general determined to declare him dethroned, and to proclaim as his successor the son of Nana Goojur by the daughter of Rajah Ragojee, who died in 1816; Baka Baee, the widow of Ragojee, who was murdered by Appa Saib, being nominated his guardian. He attained his majority in 1826. The districts in Berar, including Gawilghur and Narvallah, ceded by the Government of Nagpore, were considered to be valuable acquisitions to the Nizam, being insulated within his highness's provinces. They were accordingly to be managed by his officers, and held in trust for the British Government.

Is declared dethroned from the raj at Nagpore.

Bajee Rao pursued.

Bajee Rao, the ex-Peishwa, whose flight has been noticed, made his way first to the southward across the river Neera, followed by Brig.-general Smith, who had prepared for an active pursuit. Mr. Elphinstone, having made some progress in the orginization of a regular police and a provisional administration for the city of Poonah, accompanied General Smith's division, under a knowledge of the views of the Governor-general regarding the Peishwa. Mr. Elphinstone and General Smith divided their force into two divisions: one, consisting wholly of cavalry and light troops, were to follow up the pursuit; the other was to reduce the forts, and gradually occupy the country. The Peishwa having in his flight to the southward

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ward escaped beyond General Smith's pursuit, was constrained by the advance of General Pritzler's division to change his route: he took an easterly direction as far as Oundupore, and then struck off to the north-west, followed by Brig.-general Smith, and passing between Poonah and Seroor, advanced as far as Wuttoor, pointing towards Nassick, having been joined by Trimbuckjee Dainglia with a considerable reinforcement. Finding that General Smith was in a position to intercept his retreat, he suddenly turned to the south, by the straight route for Poonah, pursued by General Smith. It was at this period that the gallant affair at Corygaum took place under Captain Staunton. This officer, with a detachment consisting of a detail of Madras artillery and two six-pounders, and the second battalion of the first Bengal Native Infantry, about six hundred strong, and about three hundred auxiliary horse, marched from Seroor for Poonah at eight in the evening of the 31st December. They reached the heights overlooking Corygaum about ten o'clock in the forenoon of the 1st of January, from whence the whole of the Peishwa's army, amounting to twenty thousand horse and several thousand infantry, were discovered in the plain, south of the Beema river. Captain Staunton immediately moved upon the village of Corygaum, with the view of occupying it. He had scarcely succeeded in reaching it, when he was attacked in the most determined manner

Gallant affair at Corygaum.

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Is declared dethroned from the raj at Nagpore.

Bajee Rao pursued.

1818. manner by three divisions of the Peishwa's choicest infantry, supported by immense bodies of horse, with two pieces of artillery.

The contest for the occupation of the village lasted till nine P.M., during which every pagoda and house had been repeatedly taken and retaken. Towards the close of the evening the detachment was in a most trying situation; nearly the whole of the artillerymen had been killed or wounded, and also one-third of the infantry and auxiliary horse. The exertions made by the European officers, in repeatedly leading their men to the charge with the bayonet, had diminished their numbers, leaving only Captain Staunton, Lieutenant Jones, and Mr. Wyldie, an assistant-surgeon, all much exhausted, to direct the efforts of the remaining part of the detachment, nearly frantic for the want of water, and the almost unparalleled exertions they had made throughout the day, without any sort of refreshment during twelve hours, and after a previously fatiguing march of twenty-eight miles! At length, under cover of the night, they were enabled to procure a supply of water. The enemy providentially abandoned the village, having sustained an enormous loss in killed and wounded. At daylight on the 2d their force was still in sight, but did not make another attack. The detachment then moved on Seroor on the night of the 2d, which they reached at nine in the forenoon of the 3d, having had no refreshment, with

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with the exception of water, from the 31st of December. Captain Staunton brought in nearly the whole of the wounded, and both the guns and colours of his regiment.*

After this defeat, the Peishwa continued his flight to the southward, the pursuit being taken up by General Pritzler, who pushed him very close, but was unable to make any decided impression, although he followed him as far south as Gokauk on the Gutpurba, having announced his intention to invade Mysore. Finding the country to the south of the Kistna raised against him by the able and active measures of General Munro, he contrived, by a sudden movement to the eastward, to get away to Sholapore, from whence Brigadier General Munro wrote on the 16th of May:

Gen. Munro.

I am half blind; the heat is excessive, 108°; and not under 100° in the day, for nearly a month. It has knocked up many officers and men, and has nearly finished me.

A junction was now formed between Generals Smith and Pritzler. The fortress of Sattarah was reduced after the opening of the mortar batteries, when Mr. Elphinstone raised the rajah of Sattarah's flag, and declared it to be his intention to restore the rajah's authority: he also determined to issue a proclamation detailing the cause of the rupture

* When intelligence of Captain Staunton's gallant conduct reached the Court of Directors, they unanimously resolved to present him with a sword ornamented with a suitable inscription, and with the sum of five hundred guineas.

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rupture with the Peishwa; and announced that justice and order would be maintained; that the revenue of the country not possessed by the rajah of Sattarah would be retained by the Company and collected by them; that all hereditary lands and annual stipends, all religious and charitable establishments would be protected, and all religious sects tolerated and their customs maintained, as far as was just and reasonable. The farming system was to be abolished, and officers appointed to collect a moderate revenue.

Restoration of the rajah of Sattarah by Mr. Elphinstone.

General Smith continued the pursuit, and fell in with the Peishwa's force at Ashtoor, which he completely defeated on the 19th of February, gaining possession of the rajah of Sattarah and his family, who were brought into camp, and subsequently re-established by Mr. Elphinstone at their capital. The celebrated Gocklah,* the Peishwa's best general, fell in this action. He and Trimbuckjee were the advisers of the Peishwa throughout his late infatuated course. The Peishwa now fled into Candeish, having been joined on his route by some infantry and Holkar, who had escaped from Mahidpore, and by Gunput Rao of Nagpore, with the remainder of Appa Sahib's army. His cause nevertheless appearing to be hopeless, many of the principal jaghiredars opened communication with Mr. Elphinstone, and abandoned the cause of Bajee Rao. The Putwardans set the example, being

* *Vide* pages 289 and 523.

being speedily followed by others, but they observed a strict neutrality, the only chiefs of note remaining with him being Appa Dessaye of Nepaunie, and Rastia and his brother Chimnajee the Vinchorkur. The settlement of the country south of the Kistna was assigned to Brig.-general Munro, who wrote from camp, Hooblee, 15th May 1818: 1818.

> I am engaged in transforming some territories from the most turbulent and ambitious of all the Mahratta jaghiredars, the Dessaye of Apauree, to the Kolapor Rajah. I shall not quit my command till I have done all the rough work for ensuring the quiet of these men hereafter.

The Peishwa found his progress to the northward stopped by the return of Sir Thomas Hislop from Malwa to the Deccan; in the course of which route he executed the killedar of the fort of Talneir, in consequence of the treacherous conduct observed by the garrison, after the gates had been opened under surrender. Considerable doubts existed as to the killedar being personally culpable, but the example was deemed necessary, under the aggravated circumstances and loss which accompanied the submission.

Killedar of Talneir.

Bajee Rao, who had eluded his pursuers for six months, now found himself sorely pressed and attempted to advance into Malwa. Sir John Malcolm, who was at Mhow on the 18th of May, stationed the forces under Lieut.-colonels Russell and Corsellis in positions he considered best calculated to prevent that step. On the evening

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ning of the 15th he learned that a vakeel had arrived from the Peishwa at Barwa, a place near the Nerbudda and about forty miles from Mhow; upon which Sir John determined to move towards that place, being quite satisfied that whether he was to attack him or treat with him, it was not a moment for delay.

Operations of Brigadier Munro.

Brig.-general Munro had made conquests of a series of forts, and conducted other most gallant operations, with a force on so small a scale as scarcely to have raised a hope that he could have effected such services.

Colonel Adams took the fort of Chanda by storm at the close of May, and from the want of ammunition was constrained to convert the siege of Mallygaum in Candeish into a blockade. Bajee Rao clung to the vicinity of Asseer, from whence and from Berhampore he had been furnished with supplies.

Bajee Rao surrenders to Sir John Malcolm, after much delay.

Sir John Malcolm arrived at Bekangong on the 27th of May, at two o'clock in the morning, where he had full communication with the vakeel of Bajee Rao by letter, and learned that the ex-Peishwa was determined to come to him. Lieut. Low was despatched by Sir John Malcolm to fix a personal interview for him with the Peishwa. After considerable difficulty and with much reluctance, a meeting took place at the village of Keree, on the 2d of June, when Sir John Malcolm with all his family visited him. He appeared low and

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and dejected, and retired for a private interview, when he said that he had been involved in a war he never intended; that he was treated as an enemy by the state which had supported his family for two generations, and was at that moment in a position that demanded commiseration, and believed that he had a real friend in Sir John Malcolm. The latter replied, that every moment of delay was one of danger, and that he should either throw himself at once on the British Government, or determine on further resistance. "How can I resist now?" he exclaimed, "I am surrounded." Sir John Malcolm remarked that he was so, but he could not complain; that he still had the power of escape as much as ever, if he wished to become a freebooter and wanderer, and not accept the liberal provision designed for him. He replied, with the flattery of which he was master, "I have found you, who are my only friend, and will never leave you—would a shipwrecked mariner, after having reached the port he desired, form a wish to leave it?" Still, upon the plea of a religious ceremony, and that it was an unlucky day, he wished on the third to postpone till the next day surrendering himself up and accepting the propositions, by which he engaged to proceed to Hindostan, a pension of not less than eight lacs of rupees per annum being secured to him. To this delay Sir John Malcolm most positively objected. The firing of some guns in the quarter of Asseer had a considerable

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siderable effect upon him, and at eleven he determined to come to Sir John Malcolm's camp.

Trimbuckjee Dauglia sent a prisoner to Chunar.

Trimbuckjee, on learning the dispersion of Bajee Rao's force, retired to the neighbourhood of Nassick, where he was taken prisoner by Major Swanston, sent round to Bengal, and lodged in the fort of Chunar. The exertions of Mr. Elphinstone were very successful in effecting the introduction and establishment of the new government.

The settlement of the Bheels in Candeish was prosecuted by Captain Briggs, under Mr. Elphinstone's direction, and the state of Sattarah was likewise making favourable progress.

The condition of the newly acquired provinces, and the measures adopted by the British Government (subjects of deep interest) properly form matter for a separate work. The remaining fugitive, Appa Sahib, the ex-raja of Nagpore, would have been captured near the fort of Asseerghur but for Jeswunt Rao Sar, who sallied forth and saved him from his pursuers. He proceeded from thence to Lahore, where he was allowed to live in absolute privacy, on a very scanty allowance from Runjeet Sing: a permission extended by that chief in a manner which showed his sincere desire not to dissatisfy the British Government. It became evident in the course of the proceedings connected with the temporary surrender of the fort of Asseergurh, required from Scindiah under the treaty of November 1817, that secret communications and engagements

Scindiah aids Bajee Rao's interests.

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engagements were carried on between the Maharajah and Juswunt Rao Sar, the commandant, in support of the fortunes of Bajee Rao, the ex-Peishwa; a fact admitted by Scindiah, when the resident placed his highness's own letter in the hands of one of his principal ministers, who declared that it would be in vain to deny his master's handwriting. It was acknowledged by Scindiah; he extenuated his conduct by appealing to the embarrassment in which he stood in regard to Bajee Rao. When he was apprized that the Governor-general would content himself with retaining Asseergurh, not as a punishment but as a security, he was greatly relieved, and still more so on being assured that if his highness would deal candidly in future, all should be buried in oblivion.

Marquis of Hastings's revenue and judicial minutes.

When the Marquis of Hastings was pursuing his route through the several districts of the Lower Provinces in 1815, also during the whole of his tour through the western provinces, he constantly turned his attention to the several subjects connected with the revenue and judicial systems. His lordship forwarded to the Court two elaborate reports: the first in the revenue department, under date the 15th September 1815; the second in the judicial department, of the 2d October following. The revenue minute, with its accompanying documents, formed a body of valuable information, exhibiting the views and sentiments of various ministerial revenue officers, and containing many

1818.

Is declared dethroned from the raj at Nagpore.

1818.

many useful and important suggestions respecting the nature of the systems that had been pursued, and their operation on the body of the people. After offering suggestions for promoting the efficiency and improving the system, his lordship stated, he was by no means satisfied that he had done justice to the subject; still he had sought with great earnestness to inform himself accurately on the spot, having had the means of recurring to the amplest sources of instruction. As a general position, he remarked, that the pecuniary advantages of the Company were in a rapidly progressive course, but they were at the same time precarious.

Bajee Rao pursued.

It was by preponderance of power that those mines of wealth had been acquired for the Company's treasury, and by preponderance of power alone could they be retained. The supposition that the British power could discard the means of strength and yet enjoy the fruits of it, was one that would certainly be speedily dissipated; in the state of India, were we to be feeble our rule would be a dream, and a very short one.

These remarks present a strong contrast to the views taken by Marquis Hastings, when Lord Rawdon in 1802, and tend to corroborate every opinion advanced by parties who have been considered best qualified to form a judgment on the subject. His lordship's judicial minute reviewed the subject under the three divisions of police, criminal justice, and civil judicature.

Police.

1818.

Police.—Anterior to 1792, the large independent jurisdictions of native magistrates, or *foujdars*, though acting under the eye of our own revenue officers, completely failed; the substitution of European magistrates produced no amendment of the police of the country; experience had shown that the landholders were not to be trusted with the exclusive management of the police of their own estates, as it had been frequently misapplied to purposes of private revenge; indeed its powers had been thus universally diverted. It was, therefore determined, in 1792, to introduce the *Thannadarree*,* or stipendiary police institution, into Bengal. It was an operative mechanism which gave weight to the authority of government, and of its officers, and reduced the spirit of violence and lawless rapine which seemed then to prevail under the collusive if not overt support of the landholders and farmers of every district. It was fully equal to the effectual performance of all the duties of police which follow the actual perpetration of crime. It may be compared with the existing system of metropolitan police in this country, being "found equal to the best organized systems of Europe." The same exclusive notions of profession prevail, and they have the most thorough conviction that their continuance in office and means of livelihood depend upon the satisfaction

* From *thanadar*, a petty police officer.

1818.

Is declared dethroned from the raj at Nagpore.

Bajee Rao pursued.

1818. satisfaction they may give to their superiors in the discharge of the duties entrusted to them.

Criminal Justice.—The legitimate object in the trial and punishment of offenders beyond the hope of correction, being the suppression of crimes by the terror of example, the utility of punishment is diminished and the effect of example is weakened, where the offence itself is nearly forgotten by the delay in the punishment. The grand object for amending the administering justice, was finding the means of accelerating the final sentence on criminals, by the establishment of a separate court of ultimate jurisdiction in the remote possessions of the Company.

Civil Judicature.—The judicial establishments, notwithstanding the great and constant addition to the enormous expense, were inadequate to the disposal of the suits. The list of undecided causes was great, but the unknown number not brought forward, from despair of a decision within a reasonable time, constituted a grievance which baffled all calculation. A common peasant could not get redress for a trifling exaction, bitterly oppressive to an indigent man, unless he could abide a contest of from seven to nine years. It is impossible to enter at length into the various points which press themselves upon the mind, in considering this deeply important subject with reference to India. It is one which has of late years been attracting considerable attention. It had obtained the

1818.

the early notice of Lord William Bentinck, in his lordship's government of Madras in 1806, and again when at the head of the Supreme Govern- in 1828, and formed a prominent subject in the Charter Act of 1834.

1819.

East-India Company vote £60,000 to Marquis Hastings.

In testimony of the high sense which the Court of Directors entertained of the services the Marquis Hastings had rendered to the East-India Company, at the close of two glorious and successful wars, as they appeared on the records of the Company; and being deeply impressed with a sense of the merits and services of his lordship, and of the unwearied assiduity with which he devoted himself to the attainment of a comprehensive knowledge of the Company's affairs, they recommended to the Court of Proprietors to grant the sum of £60,000 from the territorial revenues of India, to be laid out in the purchase of estates in any part of the United Kingdom, so that the fee simple of such estates might be settled in a manner best calculated to perpetuate the sense entertained of his lordship's high and meritorious services as Governor-general of the British possessions in India. The grant was unanimously confirmed by the General Court on the 23d June 1819.

During the further part of his lordship's administration various discussions arose between the functionaries of the British and Dutch governments.

Sir Stamford Raffles, who proceeded to Bencoolen

1818.

Is declared dethroned from the raj at Nagpore.

Bajee Rao pursued.

1819. Establishment of Singapore.

coolen with the designation of Lieut.-governor at the close of 1817, was intimately acquainted with the various interests in that quarter, and with the positions which presented the best means for successfully competing with the preponderating influence of the Dutch, whose power had been re-established in all its ancient authority. The conflicting questions that arose, formed subjects of reference to Bengal. The possession of Singapore off point Romania, in the direct route to China, upon which Sir S. Raffles had planted the British flag, brought matters to an open issue. The Marquis of Hastings recorded a minute, in which he did full justice to the zeal of Sir Stamford Raffles in his desire to uphold the British interests, and earnestly pressed upon the Home authorities the expediency of coming to a settlement with the Dutch on the points in dispute.

Negotiations with the Dutch commissioners.

Mr. Canning, then President of the Board of Control suggested the nomination of a select committee, with whom he could hold confidential communication, to enable him to meet the Netherlands commissioners.

Netherlands' treaty.

The negotiations were greatly protracted from the necessity of reference, on various points, to India. The whole terminated in the treaty of 1824, by which the Dutch settlements on the continent of India, with Malacca, and the undisputed right to Singapore, were ceded to the British Government, the Dutch acquiring in exchange Sumatra, with all the

1818.

the Company's rights on that island. The treaty, which was signed at London on the 17th of March 1824, afforded grounds for attacking the policy of the British Minister, who had been a party to the cessions at the peace of 1814, a policy which was considered to be still recognized by the acknowledgment of the Dutch monopoly in the Spice Islands, until such time as the Government of the Netherlands should think fit to relinquish it. Whatever was secured to Great Britain in the Indian Archipelago, may, in a great measure, be attributed to the perseverance and discernment of Sir Stamford Raffles, who hoped, in some degree, to compensate his country for the abandonment of their former conquests. His conduct was treated with severity by the Colonial Secretary, in 1824, who, in ignorance of the leading points which bore upon the subject, desired to draw off attention from the real merits of the question to a highly coloured and overcharged picture of the conduct of the Lieut.-governor of Bencoolen, whose principles, had they been followed out, would have secured infinitely better terms for the British interests.

The office of governor of Bombay having become vacant by the resignation of Sir Evan Nepean, Mr. Canning, as President of the Board, intimated to the Court his readiness to confirm the selection of one of those eminent servants of the Company, who had so highly distinguished themselves

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selves in the public employ. The Directors fully appreciated this mark of confidence, and made choice of the Hon. Mountstuart Elphinstone, whose name has been frequently noticed in this volume. He was nominated governor of Bombay in October 1818.

The Vizier of Oude assumed the title of King in 1819. In 1820, Futteh Sing, the Guicowar, died, and was succeeded by Seajee Rao. The conduct of Major Carnac,* the resident, was highly applauded by the Supreme Government, who expressed their sense of that officer's services to the Court of Directors.

Missions were dispatched to Siam and Cochin-China, under Dr. Crawford, an assistant-surgeon on the Bengal establishment: Dr. Finlayson, the celebrated naturalist, accompanying the mission.

Marquis Hastings retires.

The Marquis of Hastings had for some time entertained a wish to relinquish the government, and in the month of May 1822, intimated that he should resign his charge. His lordship's administration partook of the character attached to that of Marquis Wellesley. The course of policy condemned by Lord Hastings, in former days, when he was but little acquainted with the affairs of India, formed the model upon which his lordship acted in the wars with the Pindarries and the Mahratta chieftains. The course of his lordship's highly distinguished service, extended over a pro-

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* Now Sir James Rivett Carnac, Bart.

1819.

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Affairs at Hydrabad.

Much anxiety had been invariably manifested by the Court of Directors to check such dealings: their orders proving ineffectual, Parliament, by an Act in 1797, declared all pecuniary transactions with native Princes, unless sanctioned by the Directors, or by the Government abroad, to be illegal. By the fifteenth article of the treaty with the Nizam, of the 12th October 1800, it was declared that the British Government "had no manner of concern with any of his highness' subjects or servants, with respect to whom his highness is absolute." The rajah Chundoo Loll, who, in the year 1811, had become the real executive minister of the Nizam's government, was supported by the British Resident, in opposition to Mooneer-ool-Moolk, who had been chosen by the Nizam

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1819. Nizam. Mr. Henry Russell succeeded as resident on the 20th May 1811. The Nizam about this period determined to investigate the accounts of rajah Chundoo Loll, and also to inquire into his conduct in the collection of the revenues. An objection was taken by the rajah to the Nizam's making reference to subordinate officers for information on points connected with such inquiry. This objection was supported by the Resident, who considered that it would have been fatal to rajah Chundoo Loll's cause and authority.

If (observed Mr. Russell) the rajah had been unable himself to prevail upon the Nizam to relinquish the design, I should have concluded it an instance in which it would have been absolutely necessary for me to interpose my influence actively and decidedly in the rajah's support. Mooneer-ool-Moolk, and the persons connected with him, may have been intimidated by seeing that I was resolved to support the rajah.

Such a proceeding, in defiance of the treaty, must have created a very unfavourable opinion of our good faith, and presented a strong contrast to the course pursued in the case of Mahomed Reza Cawn, in 1772, who, merely on surmise, and previous to any investigation, was brought down from the high office he had filled of dewan, as a culprit to Calcutta.* The attempt on the part of the British resident, at the present day, to throw a shield over the transactions of the minister of a native

* *Vide* vol. i. pages 356–357.

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native prince, who desired to inquire into the conduct of his servant, was sufficient to cause both surprise and suspicion.

The Nizam abandoned the inquiry in disgust. It was alleged that his highness was weak, and incompetent to the duties of his government, and that he had the failing of avarice, so common to Asiatic princes. What less likely method could have been devised for infusing vigour into his councils, or for promoting the blessings of British rule, than that which was adopted ?

Messrs Wm. Palmer established at Hydrabad.

The establishment of the house of Messrs. William Palmer and Co., within the residency, followed on the 1st of August 1811. On the 6th April 1814, two years and four months after the first establishment of the house, Mr. Russell, the resident, forwarded an application from Messrs. William Palmer and Co., requesting permission to form a mercantile establishment at Hydrabad, and accompanied it with an opinion that it would prove a source of general convenience and benefit: but no allusion whatever was made to the past existence of the firm, although, from the statement subsequently obtained by order of Government, the accounts showed dealings with Chundoo Loll, on behalf of the Nizam's Government, between 1st August 1811 and the 6th September 1815, of Rs.71,63,196, or upwards of £700,000 : the balance in favour of Messrs. William Palmer and Co. being Rupees nine lacs seven thousand, or nearly £100,000.

Extent of their transactions.

1819. £100,000. In June 1814, the sanction of the Supreme Government was given to the establishment of the house. From that period to the 26th Aug. 1816, the transactions were comparatively trifling. The debit against the Nizam had been reduced in the sum of Rs. 1,57,159, leaving in rupees a balance of 7,50,233 in favour of Messrs. Palmer and Co.

In June 1816, a doubt being entertained of the legality of the money transactions of Messrs. William Palmer and Co. with the Nizam, they sought exemption from legal responsibility by soliciting a license from Government, as required by the Act of 1797. In preferring the application, they stated: "Our transactions have always been open and public: and whenever we have considered them as connected with the government, they have been directly with the minister, who possesses the confidence and support of the British Government." But the transactions from August 1811 to April 1814 were not known to the Government, and Mr. Russell states that it never entered into his conception, nor could it have entered into that of any body who knew the facts as they then existed, that the pursuits which they *contemplated* bore any resemblance to a house of business.

It may be asked, what was the nature of the establishment originally?—No office nor establishment, and yet dealings to the extent of nearly

nearly £700,000, occurring under an *imperceptible* progress.* The license, in accordance with the Act, was issued in August 1816; from that date to May 1818, the transactions scarcely amounted altogether to £90,000, whilst the unknown debit against the Nizam was, at the moment, not less than £75,000.† 1819.

The next proceeding on the part of Messrs. William Palmer and Co., was an agreement to furnish the sum of 52,000 rupees, monthly, for the payment of one thousand of the Circar horse in Berar. This account was kept separate from the Hydrabad account. The latter, up to May 1818, presented a balance against the Nizam of Rs. 14,69,755, or more than £165,000; that on account of the Berar horse to the sum of Rs. 2,75,127, or £27,000, making an aggregate balance on the two accounts of Rs. 17,44,882, or £179,000 against the Nizam, up to the 19th May; at which period the only authorized transaction was that of the Berar horse, for which Messrs. Palmer were to furnish 52,000 rupees monthly. On this account they received cash payments from the Government exceeding the cash payments of the house, but by adding allowances, and interest, and merchandize, and appropriating the payments received from the Nizam, partly to the Hydrabad balance and partly to the Berar horse account, the balance on the whole transaction amounted, in the

* *Vide* Printed Papers, page 152. † Ibid. page 153.

1819.

1819. the aggregate, to Rupees 17,44,882, or about £174,000.

Another transaction was entered into in May 1818, called the *Aurungabad Account*, by which Messrs. William Palmer and Co. were to provide two lacs of rupees monthly, at Aurungabad, for the payment of the remaining three thousand horse, four battalions of infantry, and the artillery. This measure was reported to the Bengal government in December 1818. In January 1819, the Government called for certain explanations of the accounts, and appear to have been satisfied with the imperfect returns made to them from Hydrabad, as they had reference to a portion only of the Aurungabad agreement, which showed a balance against the Nizam, from the 19th May 1818 to the 23d January 1819, of Rs. 11,09,125, or about £110,000: interest having been charged at the rate of one and a-half per mensem.

The combined results of the Hydrabad, the Berar horse, and the Aurungabad accounts, from May 1818 to July 1819, showed a debit against the Nizam and in favour of Messrs. William Palmer and Co. of Rs. 32,15,069, or upwards of £300,000.

On the 19th May 1820, Rajah Chundoo Loll, being desirous of diminishing the expenses of the government, and of prosecuting general measures of

* *Vide* Printed Papers, page 156.

1819.

of reform, required the command of money to a large extent: he accordingly applied to Messrs. William Palmer and Co. for the loan of sixty lacs. The house agreed to lend the sum on receiving from the Nizam's government assignment of revenue to the extent of sixteen lacs annually, and provided the sanction of the Resident could be obtained to the transaction. The measure was supported by the Governor-general and Mr. Fendall, but opposed by Mr. Stuart and Mr. Adam: the casting vote of the Governor-general carried the measure, which was sanctioned on the 15th July 1820; the rate of the interest on this was understood to be about sixteen per cent. The accounts of the house being made up with the Nizam from the 23d July 1819 to the 12th August 1820, the date of the sixty lacs loan, the balance against the Nizam and in favour of the house was increased from Rs. 32,15,069, as it stood on the 23d July 1819, to Rs. 61,70,380.

The account of the sixty lacs loan was opened on the 12th August 1820, with two transfers from the Hydrabad account of Rs. 52,00,000 and 8,00,000, being exactly the sixty lacs, which Sir Charles Metcalfe discovered formed the pre-existing debt. The answer given to the explanation required of the house was termed "shuffling and evasive," and confirmatory of the suspicion that the sixty lacs loan was a fiction and a fraud; the Governor-

1819. Governor-general and the whole of the Council concurred in this opinion.

Results. The minister gained nothing by this transaction. The measures of reform which he contemplated introducing, by means of this intended loan, were idle dreams; the government of the Nizam was not a whit the better for the apparent zeal of his minister, or the professed liberality of the commercial establishment, formed in the belief that it would benefit the government of his highness, whilst the house obtained the sanction of the British Government to the whole of its extraordinary transactions. Something of a complex arrangement appears to have been suggested for substituting a bonus of eight lacs in lieu of interest, but no advantage accrued to the affairs of the Nizam, the calculation either way proving to be much the same in point of amount.

The transaction recalls the early crusades which were made against the coffers of Asiatic princes, and tarnishes the administration of a distinguished nobleman, who appears to have been made the dupe of designing men in the prosecution of unsanctioned if not unlawful speculations.

The Proprietors of East-India stock called for the whole of the papers, which have been printed for their information: whether with the view to any ulterior proceedings on the question is not yet apparent.

The

1823.

The Marquis Hastings quitted Calcutta in Jan. 1823. In the passage home, his lordship drew out a summary of his administration, which was transmitted to the court from Gibraltar by the hands of his military secretary on the 5th May.

His lordship's services were again brought under the consideration of the Court of Directors, and on the 3d September a resolution was moved to grant his lordship, in consideration of his meritorious services, an annuity of £5,000 for the term of twenty years, for the benefit of his family. After a lengthened discussion, the motion of adjournment was lost by the votes on the question being equal. The same result attended the proposition for the intended grant.

Vote of £20,000 to Marquis of Hastings's family.

In August 1827, the sum of £20,000 was granted by the Company to trustees, for the benefit of the present Marquis when he came of age, in testimony of the sense entertained by the East-India Company of the services of his noble father.

1819.

CHAPTER XV.

1822.
Mr. Canning appointed Governor-general.

THE circumstances which led to the nomination of the Right Hon. George Canning, in March 1822, as Governor-general in succession to the Marquis Hastings, and Mr. Canning's subsequent resignation of that appointment in the month of September following, require a brief reference to the state of public affairs in England at that period.

On the accession of his Majesty King George the Fourth, the Queen's name was expunged from the liturgy. Overtures were made to her Majesty in the spring of 1820, to induce her to reside abroad: they were rejected by the Queen, who determined to repair to this country. On the Queen's arrival a message was sent down to the House of Lords from the King,* which led to the proceeding by a Bill of Pains and Penalties against her Majesty.

In the discussion which took place in the House of Commons, Mr. Canning defended the course adopted by Ministers, who, he contended, in no way stood in the character of the Queen's accusers.

* 5th June 1820.

cusers. He at the same time declared, that it was his intention to abstain individually from all further interference in the transaction. This declaration was made advisedly, after a full communication with his colleagues, and as an alternative suggested by them for his then retiring from the administration. On the 22d June, a motion submitted by Mr. Wilberforce, in the hope that it might produce an amicable adjustment, was carried by 391 against 134; and was presented to the Queen on the 24th, who rejected the proposition, on the ground that her Majesty declined to consent to the sacrifice of any essential privilege, or to withdraw an appeal to those principles of public justice, which are alike the safeguard of the highest and the humblest individual.

1822.

On the same day that her Majesty's answer was received by the House of Commons, Mr. Canning laid at the feet of the King the tender of his resignation. His Majesty commanded him to remain in his service, abstaining as completely as he might think proper from any share in the proceedings respecting the Queen, and gave him full authority to plead his Majesty's commands for so continuing in office. During the progress of the Bill of Pains and Penalties, Mr. Canning was purposely absent from England, and returned only after it had been withdrawn on the 23d November. Before this measure of withdrawal, as proposed in the Lords by the Earl of Liverpool, could be officially

1822.

officially noticed in the House of Commons, and while Mr. Denman was in the act of presenting to the House a message from the Queen, the deputy usher of the black rod entered the house, and delivered a message which could not be heard, for the incessant cry of "withdraw." The Speaker, accompanied by some of the ministerial members, proceeded to the Lords, where assent was given by commission to a private bill, and the Chancellor acquainted the House, that Parliament was prorogued until the 23d January.

These proceedings, with the discussions which might ensue, determined Mr. Canning to renew the tender of his resignation as president of the Board of Control, which was accepted. In making these facts known to one of his constituents at Liverpool on the 22d December, he declared his intention of absenting himself from England until this calamitous affair should be at an end. He accordingly did not return until June 1821. When Mr. Canning retired from the head of the Board of Control, the Court of Directors expressed the regret which they felt on the occasion. To this sentiment Mr. Canning fully responded, assuring the Court of the satisfaction with which the official intercourse had been carried on between the Chairs and himself.

The position in which Mr. Canning stood at this moment, afforded the Court an opportunity of testifying their sense of his peculiar fitness for the office

office of governor-general, and they passed an unanimous resolution, in March 1822, nominating him thereto, in succession to the Marquis Hastings.

1822.

Death of Marquis of Londonderry.

The lamented death of the Marquis of Londonderry took place on the 12th August following; an event which led to the surmise that Mr. Canning, who had not yet sailed for Bengal, although nearly complete in his preparations, might be detained in this country in the course of the official arrangements that would become necessary. But at a dinner given to him on the 30th August at Liverpool, as a farewell meeting before leaving England, he declared that he knew nothing more than the gentlemen around him, of the future political arrangements for the country, and that he had not suspended his preparations for departure, nor had he any ground beyond that which lay open to himself in common with all the world, for apprehending that his departure was likely to be intercepted.

Mr. Canning nominated secretary of state for foreign affairs; resigns appointment to India.

It was not very probable that talents so admirably adapted, both for Parliament and office, would be permitted to be lost to the Home service of the country. On the 18th of September, Mr. Canning was nominated secretary of state for foreign affairs: he consequently resigned into the hands of the Court of Directors the appointment which they had so honourably conferred upon him. India suffered much in the loss of a mind so comprehensive and highly cultivated. Entertaining

1822. Entertaining most liberal views, and with opinions on some of the most important measures of the India government, entirely in consonance with those of the most valued and revered instruments who had taken part in the administration of that immense and interesting empire.

Sir Thomas Munro, who had been appointed governor of Madras in 1819, wrote to Mr. Canning from thence on the 1st of May 1823:

I would have written sooner had I not been prevented by the expectation of seeing you in India. That hope is now at an end; and as I can have no claim to intrude upon your time in your new duties, I write merely for the purpose of taking leave of you as chief director of India affairs. Your not coming has been a great disappointment to me: but I do not regret it; I rather, for the sake of the country, rejoice that you have remained at home. Every man who feels for its honour, must be proud to see that there are public men who prefer fame, founded on the exertion of great and useful talents, to wealth and splendour. As minister, you can still be of great service to India, by supporting measures calculated for its advantage, and by giving India the same freedom of trade as England. By not coming, you have escaped the irksome task of toiling daily through heaps of heavy long-drawn papers. I never had a very high opinion of our records, but it was not until my last return that I knew that they contained such a mass of useless trash.*

When the point of a successor to the important office,

* It is a singular circumstance, that these two eminent men paid the debt of nature within a few weeks of each other. Had the one returned home, as he originally intended, and the other proceeded as governor-general, their lives might probably have been spared to their country.

office, thus vacated, came under consideration, two names were brought before the Court of Directors, the Earl Amherst being proposed by the Chairs, and Lord William Bentinck on his own appeal to the Court. The latter personage observed, on this as on all other occasions, that frankness and candour which are inherent qualities in an honourable and independent mind; his lordship felt that he had strong claims on the consideration of the East-India Company; he had rendered them good and faithful service, and had been abruptly and unceremoniously dismissed from office when in the act of following out principles admitted to have been sound and judicious. His lordship's previous acquaintance with the affairs of India was a strong additional recommendation. It was nevertheless determined that his lordship's further services in the East should be postponed to a future day. Lord Amherst accordingly proceeded as governor-general, which office he assumed on the 1st of August 1823: Mr. Adam having filled it from January 1822, when the Marquis of Hastings quitted Bengal.

1823. Earl Amherst appointed Governor-general.

The war with Ava, as had been the case with Mysore in 1799, and with Nepaul in 1814, was devolved upon the Governor-general as a legacy by his predecessor. Lord Amherst found himself, in a few months after his arrival, constrained to take measures for the support of the British power. Differences had been occasioned at an

Causes of the Ava war.

1823.

an early period by the incursions of a race of people called *Mhugs*.* They were subjects of the king of Ava, and had sought refuge in the Company's protection from the cruelties of the Burmese, who had conquered their country, and inflicted upon them the greatest severities. The countenance which they felt thus extended, led them to attempt a recovery of the lands from whence they had been driven. Frequent skirmishes ensued, and the Burmese pursuing the fugitives into the Company's provinces, led to aggressions, which it was endeavoured to settle, and in future prevent, by a mission to Ava; through which it was anticipated a good understanding would be established. But the sovereign of Ava was vain, haughty, and imperious. His successes against Munnipoor and Assam had inspired him with high conceptions of his own prowess, and brought him in more immediate contact with the British frontiers. Still Lord Hastings did not attach importance to this spirit, nor did his lordship entertain the slightest apprehension of an irruption on the part of Ava. The object of the British Government was to maintain a peaceful commercial intercourse, and to avoid all measures that might lead to any misunderstanding. The conduct of the Burmese at the commencement of 1824, rendered it impossible to maintain further pacific relations. Their chiefs, during a period of peace,

* *Vide* vol. i. page 568.

1824.

peace, and without any previous attempt at explanation or negotiation, made a night attack on the island of Shapooree, immediately below Tek Nauf, on the coast of Arracan, where they drove away the small guard of British troops stationed on the island for its defence, several of whose lives were sacrificed; and they thus took violent possession of what was indisputable British property. On an explanation of this conduct being demanded from the governor of Ava, the enemy vauntingly declared their determination to retain possession of the island, and intimated that unless the right of Ava to Shapooree was distinctly admitted, the sovereign of that kingdom would invade the British territories. Immediately following this attack, the commanding officer and some of the crew of the Company's cruiser *Sophia* were detained on shore by the Burmese and carried into the interior; and although ultimately released, it was without any explanation or apology for so unjustifiable a proceeding. Other hostile acts were committed, at the same time, by some Burmese officers commanding on the north-eastern part of their country, comprising the disputed boundary between Kulee and Munnipore, contiguous to Cachar. They actually advanced their troops into the latter provinces, and took post within five miles only of the town of Sylhet, and only two hundred and twenty-six from Calcutta. Cachar was under the protection of the British Government, from whence

1824.

whence also the Burmese generals planned the conquest of Jinteea, immediately adjoining Cachar: calling on the rajah to acknowledge his allegiance to the government of Ava.

Proclamation of war with Ava.

These repeated aggressions constrained the Governor-general to issue a proclamation on the 5th of March, by which the Ava Government was declared to be in the position of a public enemy. All British subjects, both European and native, were accordingly prohibited from holding communication with the people of that state until the differences were terminated. The causes of these measures were then explained :—" The deliberate silence of the court of Amerapoora, as well as the combination and extent of the operations undertaken by its officers, leave it no longer doubtful, that the acts and declarations of the subordinate authorities are fully sanctioned by their sovereign. The Governor-general in Council, therefore, for the safety of the subjects, and the security of our districts, already seriously alarmed and injured by the approach of the Burmese armies, has felt himself imperatively called on to anticipate the threatened invasion. The national honour no less obviously requires, that atonement should be had for wrongs so wantonly inflicted, and so insolently maintained: and the national interests equally demand that we should seek, by an appeal to arms, that security against future insult and aggression, which the arrogance and grasping spirit of

of the Burmese government have denied to friendly expostulation and remonstrance." 1824.

The war in which the British Government was about to engage, was thus one of self-defence and violated territory. In contemplating the measures adopted for the prosecution of hostilities, the great deficiency of information possessed by the official authorities at Calcutta regarding the country, its routes, and passes, as well as the want of opinion and advice of experienced authorities on the best course of operations, and the most favourable period for commencing them, was thoroughly apparent. It was not to be expected that Lord Amherst, who, with the exception of the embassy to China in 1815, had been in no way connected with the East, should have any intimate acquaintance with the general state of affairs in India; and still less could it be supposed that he should possess any knowledge of a people, or the interior geography of a country, of which the official functionaries themselves appear to have been so little cognizant. The advance from Bengal was at one time intended to have been made into Ava through Arracan, and the force acting simultaneously, was to proceed from Cachar; but Arracan was found too unhealthy to admit of that plan being carried forward.

At length, in the month of May, a considerable force was assembled at Port Cornwallis, under

1824.
Sir A. Campbell commands the military force.

Major-general Sir Archibald Campbell and Commodore Grant. On the 11th of that month, Rangoon, the principal seaport of Ava, surrendered to the British troops. A detachment from the main body of his force had been sent against the island of Cheduba, situated to the south of Akyab, on the Arracan coast, under Brig.-general M'Creagh; and another against Nigrais, at the entrance of the Irriwaddy, under Major Wahab. Both measures were successful: but the latter island proved to be not worth retaining. On the 10th of June a successful attack was made on the enemy's stockades at Kemmundine; the army advanced up the river, accompanied by the flotilla.

On the 1st of July, the enemy made a general attack on the British force, but were repulsed; and in another engagement, on the 8th, the enemy suffered very severely. The steam-boat which accompanied the flotilla, was of the greatest service. In connexion with this fact it has been related, that the Burmese had an ancient tradition, by which their capital would remain invincible against all enemies, until a vessel should advance up the Irriwaddy without oars or sails! This may have led the court of Ava to assume such ungrounded confidence; although they, as well as ourselves some few years before, could never have dreamed that a steam-boat, without

oars

oars or sails, would be advancing up their great river, in hostile array, towards the capital.* 1824.

On the coast of Tenasserim, the valuable possessions of Tavoi and Mergui were captured by a force under Colonel Miles; and an important conquest was made on the 30th of October of Martaban, by a force dispatched from the Rangoon river, under Colonel Godwin. The submission of Tenasserim followed, which brought the whole of the Burmese coast into subjection to the British authority. On the 1st December Sir Archibald Campbell defeated the Bundoolah, who commanded a force which was stated to consist of fifty or sixty thousand men; and the British general stormed the works thrown up by the Ava chief, which greatly dispirited their attempts at defence. The Burmese war-boats were at the same time successfully attacking the British flotilla; whilst the main army was thus making progress against the enemy, the Burmese gained an advantage at Ramoo, in Chittagong, and got possession of the stockade station of Tek Naaf: but their troops in Silhet retreated before a force under Colonel Jones. After some operations at the opening of 1825, Sir A. Campbell made preparations in February for advancing from Rangoon towards Prome.

The Bundoolah defeated.

1825.

General

* This anecdote was related to the author by Colonel Sir John Hopkinson, who commanded the Madras artillery in the Ava war.

1825.

General Cotton, with the flotilla under Captains Alexander and Chads, of the Royal navy, advanced towards Donabew, for the purpose of reducing that stronghold of the enemy. The advance was retarded by a variety of impediments, together with the extreme intricacy of the passage and want of water, with numerous shallows, while the enemy, well acquainted with the navigation, availed themselves of the opportunity to station war-boats, from which they greatly annoyed our troops. It was not till the 6th of March that the British forces reached a position two miles below Donabew. The enemy refusing to surrender, preparations were made on the 7th to commence an attack on the stockade, with a detachment under Colonel O'Donoghue and Major Hardy. After a gallant opposition by the enemy, they gained the first line of defence. On attempting the second, situated about six hundred yards from the pagoda stockade, the enemy had made such effectual preparations that, after severe loss, the detachment was constrained to retire; when General Cotton, rather than risk the great loss which would eventually have been entailed by pressing operations, of the success of which he had no doubt, determined to reimbark and await reinforcements. Sir A. Campbell, from premature reports, believed that the operations had been successful, and consequently made a retrograde movement and approached Donabew, where he arrived on the 25th, and

Army reaches Donabew.

and opened a communication with General Cotton.

1825.

On the 27th batteries having been erected, they opened on the 1st of April, and on the 2d Sir A. Campbell had the satisfaction to learn that the enemy were in full retreat: Donabew was taken possession of, and Sir A. Campbell resumed his advance towards Prome, which place he entered on the 25th of April. Rungpore had capitulated to Colonel Richards on the 1st of July, by which the Burmese were expelled from Assam. General Shuldham was advancing amongst impenetrable jungles towards Munnipore, situated about two hundred miles west of the capital of Ava; and General Morrison succeeded in gaining possession of Arracan, after defeating the enemy in several brilliant operations.

British army enters Prome.

On the 17th of September, negotiations for peace were carried on at Meeadi, between Lieut.-colonel Tidy and Lieutenant Smith and some Burmese officers, duly authorized by the Ava minister, when articles were exchanged between the parties, by which a cessation of hostilities from the 17th of September to the 17th of October was to take place; the chief minister from Ava was to meet the British authorities on the 2d of October, to enter into negotiations. A line of demarcation was to be drawn; and as the state of the first minister would not admit of his moving without an attendance of five hundred men with fire-arms, and

Negotiations for peace.

1825.

and five hundred with swords, so the British commander would of course be attended by the same number, should he deem it requisite. Sir A. Campbell and Sir James Brisbane met the Ava commissioners on the 2d of October: these pacific preliminaries terminated in the recommencement of hostilities, the King of Ava refusing to ratify any conditions which contemplated the cession of territory, or indemnification for the expenses of the war. As the rainy season had set in, no further operations could be effected till October. Provisions had to be conveyed from Rangoon, a distance of one hundred and fifty miles up the Irriwaddy, by a flotilla under Captain Alexander, R.N. By command of the king, his army of sixty thousand men advanced to attack the British force at Prome. The enemy evinced considerable skill in taking up their position. Colonel M'Dougal being killed in reconnoitring their works, the event led to a retreat. The Burmese chief, on this movement, approached nearer to the British position, but with great caution and considerable skill, defending his advance by the erection of stockades. On the 1st December 1825, Sir A. Campbell moved out of Prome to attack the enemy, dividing his force into two divisions, the right under General Cotton, the other commanded by himself. The right division came first upon the enemy and dislodged him from his stockades; the chief himself fell amongst the slain. Sir A. Campbell's force moved

Negotiations prove fruitless.

moved on to attack the enemy in his retreat; the pursuit and subsequent arrangements, in conjunction with the flotilla, completely effected the dispersion of the Burmese force on the eastern bank of the Irriwaddy, with the loss of all their artillery, ammunition, and military stores. General Cotton's force, intended to attack the enemy on the western bank of the river, was accordingly conveyed across by the flotilla on the 5th December, and carried the stockades, leaving a considerable number of the Burmese troops dead on the field, and dispersing the remainder.

1825.
Enemy completely defeated.

Sir A. Campbell lost not a day in advancing towards the capital: he reached Meeady on the 19th, and arrived within five miles of Patanogah, opposite Mallown, where the whole of the enemy's force was assembled. On the 26th they sent a flag of truce. On the 1st of January a conference was held, when, as at first, they resisted the payment of money and the cession of territory: but on the 3d, the Ava commissioners finally signed a treaty, by which Arracan, Mergui, Tavoi, &c., were ceded to the Company. Assam, Cachar, and Munnipore were to be placed under princes named by the British Government; and a crore of rupees was to be paid by instalments, for indemnification of the expenses. The treaty was to be returned ratified by the King within fifteen days. The Burmese were never sincere in their belief that it would be ratified, and their officers wished

1826.

Treaty of peace concluded but not ratified.

1826.

wished Sir A. Campbell to retire to Prome. The 18th was the day on which the ratification was to arrive. It did not appear; accordingly, on the 19th the batteries erected by Sir A. Campbell opened upon the enemy's position. Colonel Sale, of H.M. service, dropped down the river to assault the front of the enemy's position, while other detachments, under General Cotton, and Colonels Hunter, Godwin, and Parlby, crossed to attack Mallown. Colonel Sale was wounded in his boat; but his detachment, under Major Firth, behaved admirably: the enemy were defeated on the 25th January, and Sir A. Campbell marched towards Ummerapoora. On his march he was assured through Mr. Price, an American missionary, and Mr. Sandford, a British prisoner, direct from the King of Ava, that his Majesty desired peace, and wished to ascertain the lowest terms that could be insisted on. But Sir A. Campbell declining to halt his army after what had taken place, the enemy ventured another engagement, when Pagham Mew was taken possession of by the conquerors, and no force being left to oppose any effectual check, the road was open to Ummerapoora.

Enemy again defeated.

Throughout the whole course of the war the Madras Government, under Sir Thomas Munro, had given the most powerful and efficient support. Sir Thomas Munro had desired to be relieved from his charge in 1823; but the breaking out of the war,

Valuable aid afforded by Madras government.

1826.

war, which event appears to have surprised him even more than individuals in this country, determined him to remain at his post so long as he felt enabled to render any service. During the progress of the war he was incessantly engaged in discussions and inquiries, and correspondence connected with its prosecution.

Difficult position of Lord Amherst.

A strong feeling had arisen in England adverse to Lord Amherst, owing to the protracted operations, which it was inferred might have been terminated much more rapidly. But his lordship's situation was one of great difficulty: he was new to India; until within a few weeks of his nomination as governor-general, the idea of proceeding thither could never have entered into his contemplation; whilst the most extraordinary want of information prevailed among the authorities at Calcutta regarding the Burmese, as well as their military power, their mode of warfare, their resources, and the population of their country. The war was not a matter of option, it was impelled by unavoidable necessity.

The peace ultimately effected was attributed to the firmness and judgment of Lord Amherst, by persevering in offensive operations in opposition to all that was urged in favour of defensive measures. His lordship was in constant correspondence with Sir Thomas Munro. An expression of the heartfelt obligations of the Supreme Government was conveyed to that of Madras, for their ever-active

and

1826.

and cordial co-operation in the conduct of the war: the Supreme Government felt happy to avow, that they were mainly indebted for its prosecution to a successful issue, to the extraordinary exertions of the Government of Fort St. George.

Good conduct of the native troops.

Not the least remarkable circumstance in the war was the alacrity and cheerfulness with which the native troops, without a single exception, and to an extent far beyond all precedent, disregarded their habits, attachments, and prejudices, and embarked on board ships, and proceeded to a foreign country; submitting, without repining, to hardships and privations at the simple call of professional duty. The most important and effectual aid was afforded by his Majesty's squadron, under the late Sir James Brisbane, throughout the operations. Thanks were voted by Parliament and by the East-India Company to the joint forces, naval and military, both King's and Company's, which had been engaged; the Court of Directors confirmed the grant of batta to the army by the Bengal Government, and authorized an addition, making the total sum granted nearly half-a-million sterling.

Effectual aid of his Majesty's squadron.

1825. Affairs of Bhurtpore.

In the early part of 1825, during the operations against the Burmese, the attention of the Bengal Government was called to the proceedings at the fortress of Bhurtpore, where Doorjun Sal, aided by his brother Madoo Sing, attempted to usurp the rights of Bulwunt Sing, their cousin, a minor, and

and rightful heir to Buddoo Sing, the deceased rajah. All exertions and intreaties on the part of the resident, Sir Charles Metcalfe, to induce Doorjun Sal to abstain from the course he was pursuing, proving fruitless, offensive operations were resolved on. Its reduction became an object of great importance, with reference to the generally received impression by the natives that it was invulnerable, owing to the celebrated and successful defence which it made when besieged by Lord Lake in 1805. The late Bishop Heber observed: "It is really strange how much importance has been attached to the fortress of Bhurtpore; even in the Carnatic, Sir Thomas Munro tells me, the native princes would not believe that it ever could be taken, or that the Jâts were not destined to be the rallying point of India." It was a town of great extent, and every where strongly fortified, being surrounded by a mud wall of great height and thickness, with a very wide and deep ditch. The circumference of both town and fort was above eight miles, and the walls in all that extent were flanked with bastions at short distances, on which was mounted numerous artillery. The preparations for the attack were made on a large and complete scale, calculated to ensure ultimate success. On the 10th of December, Lord Combermere appeared before it with an army of upwards of twenty thousand men, and a field of more than a hundred pieces of artillery. During the night

1825.

Siege determined upon.

1825. night the enemy had cut the bund or embankment of a lake to the northward, for the purpose of filling the broad and deep ditch: a most essential means of defence, which had contributed largely to the successful resistance of the place in 1805. But they had been too tardy with this operation: the British troops arrived in time to make themselves masters of the embankment, and repair the breach before a sufficient quantity of water had flowed into the fosse to render it impracticable. The following days were occupied in reconnoitring the works and determining the points of attack, until the battering train and its appurtenances should have come up, the fortress occasionally firing upon the reconnoitring parties, and skirmishes taking place between small detachments and the enemy's cavalry encamped under the walls.

Lord Combermere, desirous to save the women and children from the horrors of a siege and of a bombardment, like that which must follow from such a battering train as he was about to employ, addressed a letter to Doorjun Sal on the 21st, calling upon him to send them out of the fort, promising them a safe conduct through the British camp, and allowing four-and-twenty hours for that purpose before he should open his fire upon the town.

Having received an evasive answer, his lordship again sent to him, allowing a further extension of the time for twelve hours: but the humane offer was

was not accepted. On the 23d, therefore, every thing being in readiness to commence operations, and the north-east angle of the works having been fixed upon as the point of attack, the besiegers, under a heavy fire, took possession of a ruined village called Kuddum Kundee, and of Buldeo Sing's garden, and completed their first parallel at the distance of about eight hundred yards from the fort. On the morning of the 24th two batteries, erected at these two points, opened upon the town, and on the 25th another more advanced battery between them having likewise begun its fire within two hundred and fifty yards of the north-east angle, the defences of the east side of that part of the works were in a great measure destroyed. A battery was then constructed, bearing on the north face of the same angle, at a distance of about two hundred and fifty yards. The rest of December was employed in a similar manner, in strengthening the old batteries, erecting new ones, and pushing forward the works; a constant fire, which left scarcely a roof uninjured, being kept up against the town, while the enemy seemed to be reserving his resources to the last; and the operations of the besiegers were exposed to no material interruption. On the 3d January 1826 the artillery began to breach the curtains; the ditches in front were found to be dry, and from the ruggedness of the counterscarp, offered fewer obstacles than had been expected. Such, however,

1825.

1826.

1826. however, was the tenacity of the tough mud walls, that they resisted the effects of shot better than masonry would have done; it was found that the batteries were insufficient to breach them, and recourse was had to mining. On the evening of the 6th, a mine was commenced in the scarp of the ditch on the northern face of the work, with the purpose of improving the breach; but the engineers, fearing that they might be discovered if they continued their operations during the day, sprung it at daylight on the following morning, when it was not sufficiently advanced to have any material effect upon the wall; in making a second attempt, the miners were driven away, having been countermined from the interior before they had entered many feet; and the gallery was subsequently blown up, it being discovered that the enemy were keeping watch in it. On the 14th, another mine, under one of the bastions, was exploded too precipitately, and failed of its effect. Two more mines were immediately driven into the same work, which were sprung on the 16th so successfully, that with the aid of a day's battering, they effected an excellent breach, which was reported to be practicable. On the 17th, the mine under the north-east angle was completed, and the following day was fixed for the storm.

Early in the morning of the 18th, the troops destined for the assault established themselves in the advanced trenches, unperceived by the enemy. The

1826.

The left breach was to be mounted by the brigade of General Nicolls, headed by the 59th Regiment; that on the right, by General Reynell's brigade, headed by the 14th regiment; the explosion of the mine under the north-east angle was to be the signal for the attack. At eight o'clock the mine was exploded with terrific effect; the whole of the salient angle, and part of the stone cavalier in the rear, were lifted into the air, which for some time was in total darkness; but from the mine having exploded in an unexpected direction, or from the troops having been stationed, in consequence of miscalculation, too near it, the ejected stones and masses of earth killed, in their fall, several men of the regiment at the head of the column of attack, and severely wounded three officers. They fell so thickly about Lord Combermere himself, that Brigadier-general McCombe, who was standing next to him, was knocked down, and two sepoys, who were within a few feet of him, were killed on the spot. The troops immediately mounted to the assault with the greatest order and steadiness, and, notwithstanding a determined opposition, carried the breaches. The left breach was the more difficult of the two; the ascent was very steep, but the troops pressed on, and quickly surmounted it, the grenadiers moving up it slowly and resolutely, without yet drawing a trigger in return for the vollies of round shot, grape, and musketry which were fired upon them. Some of the

1826. the foremost of the enemy defended the breach, for a few minutes, with great resolution; but as the explosion of the mine had blown up three hundred of their companions they were soon compelled to give way, and were pursued along the ramparts. Whenever they came to a gun which they could move, they turned it upon their pursuers, but they were immediately killed by the grenadiers and the gun upset. In two hours the whole rampart surrounding the town, although bravely defended at every gateway and bastion, along with the command of the gates of the citadel, were in possession of the besiegers, and early in the afternoon the citadel itself surrendered. Brigadier-general Sleigh, commanding the cavalry, having been entrusted with preventing the escape of the enemy's troops after the assault, made such a disposition of his forces, that he succeeded in securing Doorjun Sal, who with his wife, two sons, and one hundred and sixty chosen horse, attempted to force a passage through the 8th Light Cavalry.

The loss of the enemy could not be computed at less than four thousand killed; and owing to the disposition of the cavalry, hardly a man bearing arms escaped. Thus, as by the surrender of the town all the stores, arms, and ammunition fell into the possession of the victor, the whole military power of the Bhurtpore state might be considered as annihilated. The fortifications were demolished; the principal bastions and parts of several

1826.

several curtains were blown up on the 6th of February; it being left to the rains to complete the ruin. The futty bourg, or "bastion of victory," built, as the Bhurtporeans vaunted, with the bones and blood of British soldiers who fell in the assault under Lord Lake, was now laid low, and among its destroyers were some of those very men who, twenty years before, "had been permitted," in the boasting language of the natives, "to fly from its eternal walls." In fact, the fort, in a military point of view, was in a state of complete ruin, open in every direction, and would demand as much expense, or nearly so, to render it again formidable, as would raise another in a new position. All the other fortresses within the rajah's dominions immediately surrendered: the inhabitants returned to their abodes, and the rajah was reinstated in his authority. Lord Combermere broke up his camp to return to Calcutta on the 20th February, and arrived there early in April.

Thanks were voted by Parliament and by the East-India Company; the prize-money arising from the capture, granted to the Company by the King, was ordered by the Court of Directors to be distributed among the army.

Colapore.

In January 1826 the Bombay Presidency was involved in a discussion with the Rajah of Colapore, a small independent Mahratta state in the province of Bejapoor. The British Government, anxious to avoid a rupture, endeavoured, through the

1826. the resident, to adjust the difference which had arisen, without having recourse to extreme measures. The rajah, deaf to all remonstrance, and blind to the real interests of his state, continued to disregard the advice offered to him; he raised additional levies of troops, and at once placed himself in a hostile attitude: which rendered it incumbent on the Government to prepare against aggression. Their remonstrance not only remained unanswered, but the rajah, at the head of large bodies, commenced plundering the properties and territories of his own dependent chiefs, and those under the special protection or guarantee of the British Government, extorting money from the inhabitants by means of excessive cruelties. Thus forced into active operations, Colonel Welsh marched from Belgaum with the whole of the disposable troops of that station, crossed the Gutpurba river on the 12th September, and subsequently took up a position in the vicinity of Katabughee, in the Colapore territories, the inhabitants of which flocked in numbers to Colonel Welsh's camp, soliciting protection. These measures had the desired effect; the questions pending with the state of Colapore were brought to a satisfactory conclusion without recourse to actual hostilities; arrangements were entered into for securing the peace and tranquillity of the country, and to prevent, on the part of the rajah, any violation of his engagements. The articles of agreement

1827.

agreement were confirmed by the Governor-general on the 24th January 1826.

Death of Sir Thos. Munro.

At this period the public service suffered a severe loss in the death of that eminent individual, Sir Thomas Munro, whose name and opinions have been so often referred to in this volume. His interesting life, which is already before the public, renders any lengthened allusion to his services unnecessary. Nevertheless, a brief reference to some of the leading points connected with his early labours, and to the circumstances under which his stay in India was so long protracted, may correct some misapprehension which exists regarding the attention paid by the Court of Directors to his desire to be released from the charge of his government.

His early and valuable labours were rendered in the revenue branch, after he was placed under Colonel Reade in 1792. On his return to England in 1808, he threw a completely new light upon many questions connected with the revenue and judicial systems, and was an authority much referred to in the progress of the discussions which preceded the Charter Act of 1813. In the following year he returned to Madras, at the head of a commission formed for the purpose of revising the judicial system. The principle upon which the judicial system had been first introduced into the British possessions in India was highly applauded, and the character venerated from whom it proceeded; but the experience of twenty years

1827. in Bengal had furnished unequivocal evidence that it was impracticable, with every possible extension of the establishment, to render it adequate to the great end for which it was instituted, *viz.* the speedy and impartial administration of justice. The expenditure had been augmented from the sum of £220,000, at which the annual charge for the provinces of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa, was calculated, exclusive of the charge of police and the diet of prisoners, to the sum of £306,000; whilst in 1809-10 the charge had increased, including the ceded and conquered territory, only to £870,000; and the arrears of causes had gone on until, in Bengal, in 1812, the number was 163,000!* and the expenses of the judicial government for India amounted to £1,261,344.

How well and effectually Sir Thomas Munro discharged the important trust reposed in him, may be gathered from the fact that, in the year 1815, under the Madras presidency, before the introduction of the new system, the number of causes decided by the zillah judges, assistant judges, and registers, was 7,298; and by the native judicatures which then prevailed, was 30,687, whilst in 1817, by the European officers, it was 4,749; and by the native offices, 66,302, showing a number in favour of the latter period of 32,436.

Colonel Munro quitted Madras in January 1819, and landed in England in June following. He had

* Judicial Letter to Madras, April 1814.

1827.

had scarcely been at home more than a few weeks, when he was nominated governor of Madras, with the rank of major-general and K.C.B., in succession to the Hon. Hugh Elliott. He proceeded to India in the December following, and landed at Bombay, where he was received by the Hon. Mountstuart Elphinstone in May, and sailed from thence in June for Madras, where he again arrived exactly within one year and a-half from the period of his last quitting that settlement.

In every position in which Sir Thomas Munro was placed, he acquired the esteem and attachment of both natives and Europeans. After the lengthened period which he had already passed in India, he did not propose protracting his stay in charge of the government beyond three, or at most four years.

Proceedings of the Court of Directors to meet Sir Thos. Munro's wishes to be relieved from the government.

He accordingly addressed a letter to the Chairman and Deputy Chairman of the Court of Directors from Gooty, on the 25th September 1823, in which he requested permission to resign the situation of governor of Madras in December 1824, or January 1825. This letter reached the India-House on the 15th March 1824, and was laid before the Court on the next day, when the following answer was written by the command of the Court:—

The Hon. Major-general Sir T. Munro.

Sir:

I am commanded to assure you, that the Court regret that any circumstances should deprive the East-India Company of

1827. of talents and qualifications so peculiarly fitted to the high and important station which you are about to relinquish. The Court further command me to state, that they would still have reposed that trust in your hands with entire confidence, not only from the experience of your past services, but fortified by the motives which have prompted the tender of your resignation; they, however, believe that they shall best consult your wishes by taking measures for the appointment of a successor within the period specified in your letter. In making this intimation, I obey the instructions of the Court in conveying to you the expression of their sincere desire, that yourself and family may reach your native land in safety, and that you may enjoy in honourable retirement the satisfaction arising from a consciousness of having discharged the duties of an extended career of public service with advantage to the East-India Company, and in promoting the happiness and welfare of the natives of the country in which you have so long resided.

East-India House, 16th March 1824.

The breaking out of the Burmese war, which was wholly unexpected by Sir Thomas Munro, induced him to forego all thoughts of relinquishing his post so long as hostilities continued. On the 28th May 1826, when that war was terminated, Sir Thomas Munro, had been constrained to part with Lady Munro and his children on account of the health of one of the latter. He was most anxious to be relieved at the earliest possible moment, and addressed the Court to that effect. His letter was received in London in the month of September. At that period of the year his

his Majesty's ministers are not generally in town, neither is a full Court of Directors to be calculated upon. The nomination of a successor to a man like Sir Thomas Munro was not to be settled in a moment. The appointment of the Right Hon. S. R. Lushington was made in Jan. 1827, being within as short a time as could be reasonably expected; and on the same day that meritorious servant of the Company, Major-general Sir John Malcolm, was nominated governor of Bombay, in succession to the Hon. M. Elphinstone.

1827.

Both Mr. Lushington and Sir John Malcolm sailed for their respective governments in July following, in which month the lamented death of Sir Thomas Munro took place at Pattercondah, near Gooty, caused by an attack of cholera.

The "touching correspondence," justly so termed by Mr. Gleig, in his Life of this distinguished and lamented public servant, shows how great was the sacrifice which he made to meet what he felt to be the paramount call of public duty, when he parted with his family on their embarkation for England. What those feelings must have been when all hope had for ever closed of their again meeting, it would be in vain to imagine; but there is nothing calculated to cause greater pain to the authorities, who had desired his services, than the belief that unnecessary delay, or inattention to the wishes of so valued a servant, was

1827. was evinced by the Court. The simple statement already given will prove that not to have been the case. The Directors, on the receipt of the melancholy and unexpected intelligence, came to the following resolution :

At a Court of Directors, held on Wednesday the 28th November 1827 :

Resolved unanimously, That this Court has learnt with feelings of the deepest concern the decease of Major-general Sir Thomas Munro, K.C.B., late governor of Fort St. George, and its regret is peculiarly excited by the lamented event having occurred at a moment when that distinguished officer was on the point of returning to his native land, in the enjoyment of his well-earned honours, after a long and valuable life, which had been devoted to the interests of the Company and his country.

That this Court cannot fail to bear in mind the zeal and devotion manifested by Sir Thomas Munro, in retaining charge of the government of Madras, after he had intimated his wish to retire therefrom, and at a period when the political state of India rendered the discharge of the duties of that high and honourable station peculiarly arduous and important ; and this Court desires to record this expression of its warmest regard for the memory of its late valuable servant, and to assure his surviving family that it deeply sympathizes in the grief which so unexpected an event must have occasioned to them.

Lord Amherst proceeded to the Upper Provinces in 1827. On his lordship's visit to Delhi, a final settlement took place of the relations, in which the British Government in India stood towards the King of Delhi. It terminated the implied

1827.

implied vassalage previously rendered, or was supposed to exist towards the royal family, by the British Government. The event created, very naturally, a strong sensation at the time, as it was the first instance of our openly and decidedly asserting the independence of the British power; it was generally stated that the crown of Hindostan had been transferred to the British nation.

The event is said to have been viewed with deep melancholy by the royal family and their dependents. They felt, whatever privations they might have suffered from the Mahrattas, their title to the sovereignty of India had been invariably acknowledged. They were now, for the first time, divested of it. The feeling of the public, however, corroborated the opinion expressed by General Wellesley, that the natives were the most indifferent people, as to their governors, of any he had met with.* They seemed on the present occasion to be unconcerned in the matter: and contemplated, without surprise, our assumption of a character, "which had been purchased with the talents, treasure, and blood of our nation."

Lord Amherst having returned to the presidency, embarked in H.M.S. *Herald* at the close of March, for England, resigning the provisional government into the hands of W. B. Bayley, Esq.

* *Vide* page 216.

CHAPTER XVI.

1827. Lord William Bentinck appointed governor-general.

The wishes expressed by the Court of Directors in their resolution of July 1809, that Lord Wm. Bentinck's "valuable qualities and honourable character might be employed as they deserved, for the benefit of his country," had been fully realized.

Although the blow which his lordship's feelings and interests had received in the East, could not be repaired by employment in Europe, his country benefited by his unceasing devotion to advance the honour of her arms, during an arduous course of service in Portugal, Spain, Sicily, and other parts in the Mediterranean.

The period had at length arrived when his lordship was again to proceed to India, and assume the highest post in administering the affairs of the British Government.

Being nominated governor-general in July 1827, his lordship embarked at Plymouth in H.M.S. *Undaunted*, in February 1828, and reached the Cape in May, where he met Earl Amherst, who had arrived at that colony in H.M.S. *Herald*, from Bengal.

The

1828.

The *Undaunted* reached the Sandheads on the 2d July, where she was met by the *Enterprize* steamer, from which his lordship landed at Calcutta on the 4th, when he assumed charge of the government.

The circumstances under which Lord William Bentinck entered upon the high and responsible office were by no means calculated to propitiate public feeling in India.

State of affairs on his arrival.

The supremacy of the British power, although more fully established than at any former period, had been effected at so large a cost, as to call for measures of the most searching economy. Considerable reductions had been made in the military establishments, at the close of the Pindarrie and Mahratta campaigns in 1819; but the accession of territory consequent upon the operations, between 1815 and 1819, was attended by large augmentations of the civil establishments and charge. Hostilities with the Burmese were not terminated until 1826. The expenditure in that war, and in the reduction of Bhurtpore, had occasioned an increase in the registered debt of India, between the years 1824-25 and 1827-28, of £13,007,823.*

Increase of India debt.

Causes.

A period of war is never favourable to economy; but a great portion of the expense entailed on the Indian finances had been caused less by the pressure of extraordinary and occasional outlay, than by continued progressive increase of disbursement in

* *Vide* Finance Report, 1832.

1828.

in every department. It was admitted that reasons might have existed, taking each department separately, to justify such increase; but the aggregate was found to have occasioned a large excess of outlay beyond the resources from whence it ought to be defrayed.

Retrenchment urged upon Governor-general.

The necessity of retrenchment had been strongly urged in the despatches to India, and Lord William Bentinck embarked for that country in possession of the views entertained by the Home authorities on this important branch of his lordship's future administration.

Lord William Bentinck's views.

Animated by an anxious desire to discharge his duty towards the East-India Company and his country, and cherishing the most benevolent views for improving the condition and promoting the happiness of the native population, his lordship determined to see and judge for himself. On his arrival at the seat of government, he accordingly announced his readiness to receive the most unreserved communication from all classes, and allowed of the most perfect freedom of the press, but without giving up the power of complete control: conscious that measures based upon sound principles, would stand the test of public scrutiny; and satisfied that, although they might for a time prove unpalatable to some portions of the Indian community, they would ultimately be found to promote the general interests of the empire.

Amongst the earliest measures of his lordship's government

1828.
Appointment of Committees of Finance.

government was the appointment of two committees of finance, the one civil and the other military, composed of the most intelligent officers from each presidency, for the purpose of revising the establishments of the three governments. Similar committees had been formed when Lord Cornwallis proceeded to India in 1786, and again by Lord Wellesley in 1798. They met at Calcutta. The civil committee was directed to enquire into the civil establishments in the general, judicial, revenue, and marine departments; with some few limitations, they were left free to push their enquiries to the utmost extent to which they might consider it necessary or expedient to carry them. The military committee was to act upon similar principles, and, with few exceptions, directed to embrace in their investigation all matters connected with military finance.

Circumstances, however, arose which rendered it inexpedient to continue the labours of the military committee, and determined his lordship to submit, at some future time, his views on the several points connected with the Indian army. His lordship, fully alive to the "universal dislike" which he had incurred by enforcing orders for reductions which he knew to be most odious, observed:

I have done my duty: and this conviction, as I know from dreadfully dear-bought experience, is the only consolation that defies all contingencies.

I trust,

1828.
Carries into effect reductions ordered by Court.

I trust, however, that the Court will support their servant, who, upon principle alone, has deemed obedience to be a paramount duty under the given circumstances. In a new case, I shall always assume the utmost latitude of discretion; but where a whole case has been more than once under consideration and returned for execution, I shall obey the orders: the responsibility does not rest with me.

The unfavourable impressions against his lordship created by his obedience to orders from England, were strengthened by the conduct of the commander-in-chief in India, who addressed a letter of remonstrance to the Government, after the publication of the general order directing the execution of the Court's instructions. This injudicious act on the part of so high a public functionary, who was also a member of council, was followed by a general expression of dissatisfaction on the part of the officers, from whom numerous memorials were sent in to the Government; whilst further and repeated injunctions were received from home for measures of economy, the despatches pointing out various charges which might be reduced. The Court observed :*

Reductions urged from home.

Our object in furnishing you with such documents, is to indicate some of the principal heads to which your attention should be directed, in those efforts to restore our finances which you are laudably engaged in making, and to the steady prosecution of which we cannot too earnestly excite you.

Again, in another despatch, where a general review

* Finance Letter to Bengal, 10th March 1830.

1828.

review was taken of the finances of India, the attention of Government was drawn to it,

As a matter of importance vastly increased in such a season of financial pressure as that which now prevails.*

These repeated exhortations were not to be disregarded; measures of economy were undoubtedly indispensable, but it is not very easy to form a correct idea of the conflicting feelings with which the head of a government has to contend, in fulfilling injunctions so materially affecting personal interests, especially of an army. The ungrateful task was certain to entail odium upon the party least entitled to bear it.

1829. Tour to the interior.

In January 1829, the Governor-general visited the north-eastern stations in Bengal, *viâ* Malda, Purneah, Dinagepore, and Rungpore, returning to the presidency on the 3d February; and on the 23d embarked on the *Enterprize* steamer, for the eastward. An official notification was issued the same day, that his lordship, on his return, would give private audience to native gentlemen, and to all natives of respectability who might wish to see him, on making application for that purpose through his private or military secretary. A communication was likewise invited of all suggestions tending to promote any branch of the national industry; to improve the commercial intercourse by land and water; to amend any defects in the existing establishments; to encourage the diffusion

Proceeds to P. W. Island.

* Finance Letter to Bengal, 25th May 1830.

1829.

sion of education and useful knowledge; and to advance the general prosperity of the British empire in India. The invitation was addressed to all native gentlemen, landholders, merchants, and others, and to all Europeans, both in and out of the service, including "that useful and respectable body of men," the indigo planters, who, from their uninterrupted residence in the Mofussil, had peculiar opportunities of forming an opinion upon the various subjects.

The *Enterprize*, steamer, reached Prince of Wales' Island on the 6th March, Malacca the 10th, and Singapore the 11th. From the latter settlement she returned on the 13th to Penang, which she left on the 18th for Tavoy, were she arrived on the 22d. On the 24th she was at Amherst, from whence the Governor-general visited Moulmein. On the 28th, the steamer proceeded to Akyab, which she reached on the 2d April, and arrived with his lordship at Calcutta on the 4th of that month.

His lordship's views confirmed by those of the Court on reducing P. W. Island.

The result of this inspection was a strong conviction on his lordship's mind that Prince of Wales' Island and its dependencies should be abolished as a separate government, and annexed to Bengal or Madras, under a more simple and less expensive form of administration. A minute to this purport was recorded by the Governor-general, in order that his views might receive the sanction of the Directors. At the same moment, instructions were

1828.

were received from the Court, which entirely confirmed his lordship's views; Prince of Wales' Island, with its dependencies, being no longer continued as an independent government, but annexed to Bengal.

General affairs of residencies, &c.

Various questions pressed themselves upon the Governor-general's attention in connexion with the residencies of Delhi and Lucknow; the collectorate of Dinagepore; the commissioner at Meerut; the state of Bundlecund; the deterioration of the police; the state of gang robbery; and the prevalence of heinous crimes of every description at Cawnpore and Furruckabad, including those of dacoity and thuggism; the progress made in the settlement and surveys of the Western Provinces; the state of our connexion with Malwa, Hydrabad, and Nagpore, and other minor chiefs, and likewise with Persia. As the Company's connexion with Central India became more fixed and immediate, it was of importance to obtain all possible information regarding the territories comprised in such a vast extent of country. Political agents had been appointed to act in Malwa, under the resident, at Indore. The selection of proper instruments had been carefully attended to; every thing depending upon their integrity, judgment, and temper. Captains Spears, Alves, and Macdonald, had been chosen by Sir John Malcolm, and proved themselves admirably qualified for the duty. Their reports on the general state of the

Central India.

1828.

country were full of interest. Captain Spears, who had been long employed, was unfortunately poisoned at Bonswarra, in the Bagur province, in 1831. The parties who perpetrated the deed being convicted on circumstantial evidence only, the punishment of their crime was confined to transportation for life.

Abolition of suttee.

The close of the year 1829 was marked by the memorable act of the British Government which abolished the horrible rite of suttee.

The Bengal Government had assured the Court of Directors in 1824, that nothing but the apprehension of evils infinitely greater than those arising from the existence of the practice, could induce them to tolerate it for a single day.*

The Directors apprized the Supreme Government, in July 1827, in reply to the foregoing despatch, that they were fully sensible of the many embarrassing considerations with which the question was beset, when looked at practically. Whether, in what degree, and in what mode, the ordinary course of civilization, and the results of which experience warranted the anticipation from its advancement, might be accelerated by a judicious and seasonable interposition of the authority or influence of the Government, were questions which the Court felt to be deserving of the most serious deliberation and inquiry. They accordingly committed the matter to the counsels of the Bengal Government,

* Letter from Bengal, 3d December 1824.

Government, aided by the information and local experience of the Company's servants; acknowledging at the same time, 1828.

That one of the difficulties attendant on the consideration of the subject arose out of the difference of opinion which prevailed among the ablest public functionaries, as to the safety and expediency of any interference on the part of Government for the suppression of Suttee.*

Lord William Bentinck lost no time in adopting measures to effect the desired object. The great preponderance of the most intelligent and experienced of the civil and military officers, consulted by the Governor-general, was in favour of the abolition: they considered that it might be effected with perfect safety. The Council stated, in the words of the Governor-general:

We are decidedly in favour of an open, avowed, and general prohibition, resting altogether upon the moral goodness of the act, and our power to enforce it.†

It was not matter of surprise that a feeling of repugnance should be manifested by a portion of the native community, at so decided an interference with a practice which had long been maintained as a religious rite.

Not less than 310 instances of women having burned themselves on the funeral piles of their deceased husbands occurred in the year 1815.‡

Petitions

* Letter to Bengal, 25th July 1827.

† *Vide* Judicial Despatch from Bengal, 4th December 1829, laid before Parliament 4th June 1830.

‡ *Vide* Parliamentary Papers, 1819.

1828.
Feelings of the natives on the measure.

Petitions were accordingly presented to the Supreme Government, in the month of January, by certain Hindoos, complaining of such interference and infraction of their ancient rites and usages. Lord William Bentinck replied, by advancing additional reasons in support of the measure, and stating that an appeal was open to the King in Council. At the same time, other Hindoos presented an address to his Lordship, expressing their deep sense of gratitude for the valuable protection afforded to the lives of the Hindoo female part of the subjects of the British Government, and for his Lordship's humane and successful exertions in rescuing them from the gross stigma which the practice of suttee had hitherto attached to their character.

Affecting instance of Suttee.

An affecting instance of the repugnance of a female of high rank to the observance of the rite, is to be found in the conduct of Ahalya Baee, who has been already noticed as an extraordinary character, in ruling the Holkar possessions in Malwa.*

She had lost her only son. Her remaining child, a daughter, was married, and had one son, who died at Mhysir. His father died twelve months afterwards. His widow immediately declared her resolution to burn with the corpse of her husband. Her mother and her sovereign left no effort untried, short of coercion, to induce her to abandon her fatal resolution. She humbled herself to the dust before her, and entreated her, as she revered her God, not to leave her desolate and alone upon earth. Her daughter, although affectionate,

* *Vide* page 280.

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affectionate, was calm and decided. "You are old, mother," she said, "and a few years will end your pious life. My only child and husband are gone, and when you follow, life I feel will be insupportable; but the opportunity of terminating it with *honour* will then have passed by!" The mother, when she found all dissuasion unavailing, determined to witness the last dreadful scene. She walked in the procession, and stood near the pile, where she was supported by two brahmins, who held her arms. Although obviously suffering great agony of mind, she remained tolerably firm till the first blaze of the flame made her lose all self-command; and while her shrieks increased the noise made by the exulting shouts of the immense multitude that stood around, she was seen to gnaw in anguish those hands she could not liberate from the persons by whom she was held. After some convulsive efforts, she so far recovered as to join in the ceremony of bathing in the Nerbuddah when the bodies were consumed. She then retired to her palace, where for three days, having taken hardly any sustenance, she remained so absorbed in grief that she never uttered a word. When recovered from this state, she seemed to find consolation in building a beautiful monument to the memory of those she lamented.

For this touching but melancholy relation, the reader is indebted to Sir John Malcolm, who went to the spot where the afflicting scene occurred, with the venerable Baramul Dada, the manager of Mhysir, and one of Ahalya Baee's favourite servants. Although much affected, he took a melancholy delight in showing the spot where the pile was made, and that where his mistress stood to witness her daughter's sacrifice. The event occurred about

1828.

about 1793. The temple she erected is stated to be of the most beautiful and finished workmanship.

Well might the measure be hailed by the friends of humanity with heartfelt satisfaction. Lord William Bentinck has remarked,

> There prevail throughout India, as in the darkest ages of European history, the same ignorance and superstition, the same belief in witchcraft, the same confidence in charms and incantations, the same faith in astrology and omens, the practice of human immolation of all sexes and ages, and many other barbarous customs opposed to true happiness, and repugnant to the best feelings that Providence has planted in the human breast: and it is by the gradual operation of European influence over the immense mass of native population, that their barbarous, and often cruel and idolatrous customs, can be eradicated, and supplanted by domestic comfort, security of person and property, and advancement in education and morals.

It is satisfactory to know, that neither the original measure abolishing Suttee, nor the virtual confirmation of it by the rejection of the appeal to the Privy Council, produced any want of confidence, or the least degree of alarm, on the part of the Hindoo population.

Remarks on the toleration of idolatry.

As education advances, and the British power is still further extended and becomes more firmly fixed, the question of how far we are to tolerate idolatry in India, will press itself more strongly upon the consideration of the governing power. Where religious rites and offices are not flagrantly opposed to the rules of common humanity or decency,

cency, they may, from our position in India, demand toleration, however false the creed by which they are sanctioned. Such concession in no degree exceeds that which is extended to doubtful creeds in the United Kingdom. But toleration and protection must go hand in hand in India, or the safety of the individuals engaged in the celebration of their rites, however absurd or much to be lamented, would not be provided for. Such toleration, however, in no way enjoins a participation or assistance in such worship, so as to identify the British authorities, in the eyes of the people, with it.

1828.

1829.

Short tour to the Upper Provinces.

At the close of January, Lord William Bentinck proceeded on a short tour to the Upper Provinces, visiting Goruckpore, Burdwan, Gyah, Patna, Benares, Juanpore, and other civil and military stations, examining the different public establishments and departments. His lordship complimented the natives on the public spirit which had prompted them to engage in works of general utility, such as the construction of roads, bridges, &c., and encouraged those who had the reputation of taking a proper interest in the welfare of their ryots. After inspecting the stud depôts in the Central Provinces, he returned on the 15th March, after a rapid but comprehensive tour, by the Sunderbunds to Calcutta.

Education of the natives.

His lordship watched, with anxious solicitude, the education of the natives: the reports sent home

in

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in the course of the year gave the most promising accounts of the progress made in the acquisition of the English language. According to the testimony of Mr. Bird, of the civil service, the desire to learn the English language was extending universally at the principal stations in the Mofussil. There was no religious prejudice against it, while, by giving complete access to European ideas and sentiments, it has the strongest tendency to weaken the prejudices of the natives against the other branches of education given at the Government institutions. The English class at the Madrissa had furnished well-qualified members for the station of vakeels at the several courts, as well as for that of law-officers in the native courts: and there were three thousand youths studying the English language at Calcutta.

1830.
Affairs in China.

The affairs of the Company in China had induced the Select Committee to solicit support from the Governor-general, and the presence of some of his Majesty's ships of war. His lordship wisely determined to ascertain the exact position in which the supercargoes stood towards the local government, before he acquiesced in the extensive requisition made for an armed force. Sir Charles Metcalfe, whose reputation stood so deservedly high in public estimation, offered his services for the purpose of effecting, if possible, an amicable termination of the differences. He was to have proceeded in a steamer, which it was calculated would

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would reach the factory in thirty days, from Calcutta: but the mission was fortunately rendered unnecessary by the receipt of accounts from the supercargoes, that a good understanding had been restored, and that the trade was proceeding as usual.

Legislative Council.

The proposition for constituting a legislative council in India, had been for some months under the consideration of the Government. Before the Governor-general quitted the presidency for the Upper Provinces, he transmitted, in a despatch to the Court of Directors, in the month of October, the draft of a proposed Bill, which had been prepared in communication with the judges of the Supreme Court, for the purpose of being submitted to Parliament. The measure was taken up on the discussion of the Charter in 1833, and forms a prominent part of the provisions of the new Act.

Question as to removing the Council.

Questions of great interest and importance regarding the revenue, the police, and the judicial system, as well as other matters of moment in the Upper and Western Provinces, comprising also Central India, demanded the close and personal inspection of the Governor-general. His lordship was most anxious to carry with him into these parts the members of council and the secretaries, in order to form a government on the spot, for the purpose of discussing and deciding on the most eligible course to be pursued in each matter

as

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as it arose. No doubt as to the law permitting of such a measure had occurred to his lordship; and he was fortified in this intention by the concurrent opinion of Sir Charles Metcalfe. Precedent too was in its favour; for when Mr. Duncan, governor of Bombay, was deputed to Surat in 1799,* the Governor-general intimated to him that he would carry the powers of government with him.

The law precluding the Council acting up the country, the Governor-general proceeds to the Upper Provinces alone.

In the present instance, the law was declared to be opposed to the proceeding, and that the powers of government could alone be exercised at Calcutta. His lordship was accordingly constrained to proceed in his individual capacity, and to form his own judgment on the state of affairs, and the measures which might be rendered necessary. Strong objections have been taken to these tours by a governor-general. If made merely to gratify curiosity they are unjustifiable, even upon the ground of expense alone. But under the native rule, a circuit was made annually by the chief, for the purpose of hearing and seeing in person the actual circumstances and condition of the people and country; and in the instance in question there was ample justification.

An official announcement was made in October, of the Governor-general's intention to quit the presidency, in prosecution of his tour, in order that all persons having occasion to address his lordship might be guided in despatching their

letters

* *Vide* page 270.

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letters to meet him in the course of his route, which was to embrace Allahabad, Bundlecund, Cawnpore, Lucknow, Bareilly, Moradabad, and Meerut. Rajah Gopaul Sing, on the arrival of the Governor-general at Buxar, presented an address, thanking his lordship for having abolished suttee. Passing Landour and Massouree, the Governor-general proceeded through the Dhoon, by Kheree, to Saharunpore, and ascended the hills to Sabathoo, at the commencement of April 1831. Quitting Simlah in October, his lordship proceeded to Rooper, on the banks of the Sutlej. On the 23d of that month the interesting interview took place with the Maharajah Runjeet Sing, which terminated in cementing the good understanding existing between the British Government and the chief of Lahore.

Interview with Runjeet Sing.

During the stay of the Governor-general at Simlah, Lieutenant Burnes, who had been on a mission to the Maharajah from Bombay, in 1831, with a letter from the King of England, and a present of some horses, joined his lordship's camp. Having successfully navigated the Indus, and being anxious to explore the countries of Central Asia, lying between that river and the Caspian, he not only obtained the Governor-general's sanction for the prosecution of the object, but received from his lordship the most liberal encouragement in his undertaking.

Mission of Lieut. Burnes.

The result of this officer's researches were forwarded

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warded from Calcutta in his own charge, he being deputed to England to afford information on the various subjects connected with his mission. The political condition, the commercial relations, the military capabilities, and the geographical features of the countries between the Caspian and the Indus, were fully developed. General views of policy, with reference to those countries, were also prepared, and sent hence by the Governor-general's orders. His lordship being desirous to effect a treaty with the Ameers of Scinde, despatched Colonel Pottinger in the character of envoy from the Supreme Government, for the purpose. He left Bombay on the 4th December 1831 with his assistants, and reached Hydrabad, on the Indus, on the 26th January. His judicious conduct fully justified the selection which had been made by the Governor-general. He inspired those suspicious chiefs with a confidence which led to the conclusion of treaties for opening and navigating that river.

Also of Colonel Pottinger to Scinde.

These proceedings having caused some anxious inquiries by Runjeet Sing, Captain Wade repaired, under the orders of the Governor-general, to the Maharajah's court, and not only satisfied the mind of his highness as to the object, in which he fully concurred, but also obtained his adherence to the treaty, and his zealous co-operation for opening the other rivers in the Punjab. The Governor-general proceeded by Kurnaul to Delhi.

The

1830.
Affairs at Delhi.

The affairs of the residency at this capital of the king, called for the presence of the supreme authority. The royal family had for some time been rising into a degree of importance in public estimation, neither known to or appreciated by the Government.

The relation in which the British power was to stand towards the King of Delhi, was finally settled during Lord Amherst's visit in 1827. His majesty appealed against that decision to the King of England, and deputed Ram Mohun Roy for the purpose of prosecuting the matter. This fact was not known when that intelligent and distinguished native quitted Bengal for Europe. It was an attempt to gain the mastery over the British representative, that is, the Governor-general, who was looked upon somewhat in the character of naib or vakeel of the Company. The attempt by the king at an appeal made a considerable impression in favour of the royal family, and the influence of his majesty, whose popularity was also promoted at this time by the conduct of the acting resident at Delhi. He insulted, and beat the passengers in the open streets, whenever they omitted to make obeisance to him. This treatment naturally gave great offence to the people, and even excited sensation throughout Upper India. The people had no means of redress; there was no law to appeal to, no regular process whereby they could secure relief from such intolerable

1830. tolerable conduct. They were thus subject to the arbitrary will of the acting resident, whose distance from all controlling authority left him at liberty to follow his own inclinations. It at length led to the people abstaining from appearing abroad when the acting resident was in the habit of taking his rides. None but the king himself was free from the caprice of this gentleman. His majesty protested against it, and by coming publicly forward, the acting resident was removed by the Governor-general, and this circumstance tended to strengthen the opinion of the rising power of the King of Delhi, through whose interference so high an officer had been sent away.

An effectual remedy was alone to be found against those acts of aggression, by the introduction of laws, as in the other part of the British territories. A clear exposition of the position in which the royal family stood towards the Supreme Government was necessary, to maintain the opinion of the supremacy of the British power.

Much depends upon the character, and qualification, of the individual filling the office of resident at these courts. Assumption of authority on the one hand, or too adulatory a course of conduct on the other, is equally to be avoided ; a firm but conciliatory demeanour, with a regard to the native feelings and prejudices, being best calculated to ensure a satisfactory discharge of the duties. There were many other points upon which the

1832.

the Governor-general had intended to enter upon his return from Ajmere, but his lordship's detention there, coupled with the state of his health, constrained him to proceed to Calcutta without revisiting Delhi.

1833.

Congress at Ajmere.

Proceeding by Agra, the Governor-general reached Ajmere, where he was met in January by the Earl of Clare, who had succeeded Sir John Malcolm in the government of Bombay. Lord Clare, in the progress of his journey to join the Governor-general, visited Baroda. During his lordship's brief sojourn at the residence of the Guicowar, he prevailed so far in removing the unfavourable impressions which had been created in the mind of his highness, by the operation of a treaty which had been formed with the British Government, that, on his return from the congress in Rajpootana, Lord Clare found the Guicowar prepared to enter generally upon the subject of his relations towards us. After frequent discussions, his lordship, with great judgment and discretion, effected an arrangement, which terminated in fully establishing sentiments of amity and confidence in the mind of his highness towards the British Government.

The Governor-general returned to Calcutta on the 2d February 1833, having had the opportunity of judging of the real character of the local officers, both natives and Europeans, as well as of the native princes, our allies or dependents, and of the

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the general face of the country—advantages only to be obtained by personal inspection, which had been so strongly felt by Lords Cornwallis and Wellesley, and by their lordships' successors.

Lord William Bentinck appointed commander-in-chief.

In the month of May 1833, Lord William Bentinck was appointed commander-in-chief in India, in succession to General Sir Edward Barnes. This was the third instance of the two offices of governor-general and commander-in-chief being united in the same person.*

1831-32. Affairs of Hydrabad and Oude.

The affairs of Hydrabad, and the general rule of the Nizam, engaged the attention of the Supreme Government, whilst those of Mysore led to a proclamation in the month of October, declaratory of the assumption by the British Government of the administration of that kingdom. The state of Oude likewise came under the consideration of the Governor-general. The imbecility of the king had defeated the reforms that were effecting in his country, and its affairs were fast relapsing into their ancient condition of anarchy and confusion. The misgovernment of that kingdom has been a subject of frequent and earnest remonstrance on the part of the British Government, during the whole of the thirty-two years which have elapsed since the conclusion of the subsidiary treaty. Lord William Bentinck was fully empowered to take final and decided measures for assuming the government for a certain period.

In

* Lord Cornwallis, 1786; Lord Hastings, 1813; Lord Wm. Bentinck, 1833.

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In consequence of the appearance of a real disposition on the part of the king, though at this late hour and probably under an impression of alarm, to reform his administration, the Governor-general determined to suspend the execution of this extreme measure, to which all the authorities both in India and in Europe, had always entertained so strong a repugnance; and thus to afford the king another opportunity of retrieving his character and that of his administration.

Disturbances caused by fanatics in Baraset.

At the close of 1831, disturbances arose in the Baraset district, within a very short distance of Calcutta. The authors were a body of fanatical Mahomedans; the leader, a man named Meer Missr Alee, commonly called Tittoo Meer, who had been a wrestler or a Sudar decoit, and had for three or four years disseminated in that part of the country the reforming tenets of Seyud Ahmed, with the view of reviving Mahomedanism in its original purity and strictness. He had collected three or four hundred followers of that sect from among the ryots, weavers, and others of the lower class of Mahomedans. Their outrages against the general feeling were on some occasions checked by the police. Complaints against them were made to the zemindars, who imposed a fine, which obtained the irritating name of "*the fine upon beards,*" Tittoo Meer's followers being careful to let theirs grow. This tax was resisted; the sect appealed against it, and, not obtaining immediate redress,

1831. redress, they resolved on taking summary vengeance. They assembled in numbers, under pretext of giving an entertainment to some fakeers, and at length began by seizing and killing a cow, sprinkling the blood over the walls of a Hindoo temple, and hanging up the carcase in front of that building—a Brahmin was also killed. As their numbers augmented, they increased in confidence, killing bullocks, plundering villages, seizing ryots, extorting from them supplies of grain, compelling them to profess their tenets, and even sending out parties to lay hands on the police darogahs; one of the joint magistrates of Baraset, who went out against them with a few of the Calcutta militia and a body of police officers, being resisted, and repulsed with some loss. The magistrate of Kishnagur proceeded on the following day, with a numerous party of police and several European indigo-planters; but, after reconnoitring the insurgents, made a precipitate retreat, and it was not until three days afterwards, *viz.* the 19th of November, that a force sent by the Government fell in with and attacked them, when Meer Tittoo, with fifty of his followers, was killed, and three hundred taken prisoners. An investigation into the origin of the disturbances was instituted by order of the Government: the result proved that it was not attributable to any permanent or extended spirit of disaffection. Its importance was chiefly owing to the local authorities being ignorant of the

1831.

the circumstances in which it had its origin. The Government strongly enforced the necessity, on all occasions, of vigilance on the part of the officers to passing circumstances, which, although unimportant and insignificant, unless checked at the outset may lead to consequences little contemplated either by their authors, or by those whose duty it is to preserve order and tranquillity in the district to which they may be attached.

1832.

Chota Nagpore and the Khole war.

Disturbances had occurred in the month of January in the extensive zemindarry of Chota Nagpore, part of the Ramghur district, comprising an area of ninety-five miles in length and eighty in breadth, of which the rude tribe of the Kholes are the native inhabitants, and form the great mass of the population. Special commissions were nominated by the Government with extensive powers to enquire into the causes, and suggest measures for the future prevention of such occurrences. They were terminated by the surrender of most of the insurgent leaders, and, at the close of the month of April, the authority of the Government was fully established.

Proceedings at Malacca.

The insurgent pangaloo of Nanning had rendered operations necessary on the part of the British authorities at Malacca. After a protracted and partially successful defence by the pangaloo against the troops which had advanced for the purpose, Taboo, the residence of the pangaloo, was taken, and tranquillity restored. The British

1832.
Ava and Cachar.

relations with Ava, and the affairs of the province of Cachar, occupied the consideration of the Supreme Council.

The Governor-general's attention was directed to other important matters having relation to the revenue and judicial systems—the registered debt of India—steam navigation—and the state of commercial credit at Calcutta.

1831-32.
Revenue and judicial systems.

The knowledge acquired by Lord William Bentinck, when at Madras, respecting the revenue and judicial systems, enabled him to take up the general subject, which demanded the serious and immediate attention of the Government.

His lordship, in December 1828, recorded a minute explanatory of his views for introducing a better system of revenue management, and for a more prompt administration of civil and criminal justice.

The objects, with reference to the revenue branch, were to keep the executive and controlling powers separate, and to establish a more effectual superintendance and control over the executive revenue officers, in order to relieve the Government from a portion of the references, by the institution of an authority between the Government and the Board of Revenue, who immediately directed the executive, but who, it was evident, had been less vigilant and active than their duty and their relation towards the Government demanded.

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The collectors were to be required to make minute reports, and to be careful that their *rubacarries* exhibited a *boná-fide* statement of their actual proceedings. The tahsildars were also to report what measures they had adopted to check the conduct and acts of the ameens. One great defect that had pervaded the acts of the ruling authorities, in all these measures regarding the revenue arrangements, was ignorance of the actual state and condition of the country. It was observed during the consideration of the subject at this time,

That, were any one to proceed from the most remote of our western districts to the province of Rohilcund, and thence, crossing the centre of the Dooab, into the country of the Boondelahs, he would be struck with the varieties which the character and social relations of the people, no less than the physical circumstances of the regions themselves, present; and that wonder would cease that gross errors had been committed, when one plan, and the partial experience of one place, had been employed in the regulation of the general revenue affairs. The necessity of a considerable variety of scheme, and a proportioned variety of agents, would become more apparent, if again entering the Dooab in the vicinity of its termination at Allahabad, crossing over Goruckpore, and thence passing through the fertile regions of Benares and Bahar into the alluvial plains of Bengal.

Several revenue commissioners were, accordingly, nominated, each being vested with the authority over a moderate tract of country, and acting inter-

1831-32. intermediately between the collectors of districts and a general board stationed at the presidency.

One of the Governor-general's objects in his tour to the Upper Provinces was to ascertain, by personal inspection and inquiry, what progress had been made in carrying into effect Regulation VII. of 1822, which empowered collectors to define, settle, and record the rights and obligations of the various classes of persons possessing an interest in the land, or in the rent or produce thereof; it was a duty which involved a complicated judicial investigation, requiring much labour, but it had not been followed up; there was an evident want of active and zealous service in the prosecution of its provisions. Ten years had elapsed since the enactment of the regulation, and little or nothing had been done.

The feeling was adverse to the "Munro" mode of settlement, which was considered inapplicable to the provinces under the presidency of Bengal, where it was stated that the business of "settlement-making" was to fix the portion of the existing rents to be taken as revenue, and not to assess the rents to be taken by the cultivators; whereas the business, both in Bengal and at Madras, should be first to ascertain what rent or revenue, the right of the Government, would yield from the lands to be assessed. This point being adjusted, the next was to decide what portion of that right, whether the whole or only the greater part, should be assessed,

assessed, as the Government demand; what portion relinquished, and in whose favour. These were the real points for the exercise of consideration and discretion: the acknowledged basis of every revenue settlement in India being, the right of the Government to a certain share of the gross produce of every inch of cultivated ground.

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The question is one upon which the prosperity and welfare of the people absolutely hinges, and demands the most careful and deliberate consideration. Nothing is to be more strongly deprecated than any decision founded upon mere assumed data.

Lord William Bentinck recorded, in a minute dated at Simlah, the 26th September 1832, his sentiments on this interesting question. Referring to proprietary rights in the temporary settled provinces, his lordship states:

> I feel quite satisfied, after mature reflection on this branch of the subject, that the only proprietors known are the Ryots, which term comprises the whole agricultural community, and that the Zemindarree or Talookdarree tenure is adventitious and artificial, being, generally speaking, a creation of the Mogul government, and the talookdar, or zemindar, (not the village zemindars, or maleeks,) himself being originally neither more nor less than a contractor with Government for its revenue.

His lordship fully concurred in the opinion,

> That generally, at one time, the lands in India were occupied by Ryots, who had a right of perpetual occupancy; they were the hereditary tenants and cultivators of the land; that from them the revenue was collected by the officers of Government,

1831-32. Government, and that to the demand of Government there was no limit. By long practice there was something established that was considered to be a kind of standard, beyond which the Government would not readily go; but it was always understood that the Government had a right to go as far as it pleased.*

Assuming that the Government and the hereditary ryots are the joint tenants or proprietors of the soil, the ryot is entitled to the portion which does not belong to the Government. The latter, if it pleases, may appoint a third party as a receiver, and give him a share of what the Government is entitled to as its due, but beyond that the zemindar, or third party, be he whom he may, has no right to share, as all beyond the claim of the Government belongs to the ryot.

It is still believed to be an open question as to what system shall be introduced in the unsettled provinces. All that has been adduced and advanced of late on the interesting question of the revenue settlement, tends to confirm the belief, that the permanent arrangement of 1793 was carried forward

* The claims of the *ryots* have been ably advocated in an interesting memoir by Mr. Halhed, printed in Calcutta for private circulation in 1832, in which an attempt is made to trace the system of land tenure and principle of taxation from the earliest periods of Hindoo history to which existing records refer—to follow them during the period of Mahomedan dominion—to show them as they existed at the accession of the British rule,—and finally, to vindicate the errors of legislation caused by a departure from the original system, and the consequences which have ensued.

ward in the absence of that real information, in regard to the nature of land tenures in India, which is essential to a correct decision upon a question, equally important to the state and to its subjects. The utmost extent to which it would seem to be judicious to go, at any period, is that of granting long leases. But energy, with fit and proper instruments, may accomplish much. There must be something radically defective in a system which constrains the Government to act under an erroneous principle in a measure so vitally affecting all interests, but most especially where those of by far the most numerous and weakest are certain to be more or less sacrificed. A greater boon could not be conferred upon the natives than the suggestion of any remedial measures which would afford relief to the oppressed, "without subverting a state of things privileged by an existence of half a century." Whatever differences of opinion may be entertained regarding the permanent settlement, the motives which actuated its supporters cannot be impugned.

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The great object of the revenue arrangements for the ceded and conquered provinces, as proposed in 1831-32, was to secure for their inhabitants all the advantages of the permanent settlement in Bengal, without its defects.

Upon the question of civil and criminal justice, the files of appeals had greatly increased; the gaol deliveries had been retarded; and such was the

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the condition of the civil and criminal administration, that a few months' residence in India had satisfied his lordship of the necessity of effecting some reform, in a state of things calculated to entail irremediable consequences upon the country. It was apparent, that the arrear of suits could not be disposed of without the extension of native agency. The Governor-general had strenuously advocated the further employ of the natives, and that they should be treated with that confidence which would prove the best stimulus to exertion, and the qualifying themselves for the various duties in the administration of their country. Besides attaching them by the strongest of all ties to the Government, it would raise their moral character; the prospect of reward by honourable employ is the surest means of infusing correct principle: but a perseverance in excluding them from every high office of trust and emolument, could not fail to render them dispirited, low-minded, and even dishonest and deceitful. His lordship was satisfied that native probity and talent might be immediately found, (exercising due caution in the selection of instruments,) in sufficient abundance, to justify the present introduction of them into the administration of justice, and accordingly suggested a measure,

For increasing the powers of the Moonsiffs and Sudder Aumeens, in the trial of civil suits, for authorising the appointment of principal Sudder Aumeens at the zillah and city

city stations, for modifying the powers and duties of the zillah, city, and provincial courts, in connexion with those arrangements, and for enlarging the sphere of selection with regard to the offices of Moonsiff and Vakeel.

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A regulation was framed to effect these provisions, and Government passed a resolution for carrying it into operation in November 1831.

Financial arrangements abroad.

The state of the Company's financial affairs had induced the Supreme Government to devise various measures, materially affecting the registered debt of India. The Accountant-general in Bengal stands towards the Government there in somewhat the same position as the Chancellor of the Exchequer in this country towards the Ministry; with the exception, that the Chancellor of the Exchequer is a member of the cabinet, whilst in Bengal he is an executive officer only. In the council at Calcutta, as in the cabinet at home, any important change is discussed as to its merits and probable effects, before it is adopted as an act of the Government, and promulgated for public notice; but at home, any point of great moment may be reserved without inconvenience for the meeting of a full cabinet, whereas in India the head of the Government may be absent from the council on distant and important service, as in former instances. The measure to be determined upon may nevertheless call for immediate decision, rendering

1831-32. dering a previous reference to the Governor-general impracticable. Such was stated to be the case with regard to some of the schemes agitated during the absence of Lord William Bentinck in the Upper Provinces. The accountant-general in 1831 submitted to the vice-president in council a plan, involving the discharge of a considerable portion of the registered debt of 1825, coupled with a scheme for the relief of the Government Treasury, should circumstances render it necessary. The proposition upon which the plans in question were based, was in the first instance sent to the Governor-general, then up the country, for his decision. His lordship replied,

The determination of the question submitted to him depended upon two circumstances: 1st. Whether the condition of the cash balances, and the expected surplus of revenue, were such as to make the Government independent of loan resources; 2d. Whether the supplies furnished by means of the investment or advances on private bills had provided for the expected demands from Europe; and to satisfy his mind upon these points, his lordship desired to have some more detailed information.

Statements were accordingly ordered; but as delay would arise in preparing them, an immediate decision was urged upon his lordship, which involved the discharge of a million and a-half sterling of the five per cent. loan. In consequence of this representation, Lord William Bentinck consented to the measure, on the express understanding,

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standing, that the entire payment of all political loans was assumed in the then cash balance for April 1831, and that no requisition had been made for a bullion remittance to Europe; adding, however, that he did not look upon the payment of a funded debt of old standing necessarily good, and to be resolved upon the instant means were available for the purpose, and under the hazard of having in the course of the year to resort to a new loan; neither did he conceive that the charge of a few days' interest in the amount proposed for payment was, in a project of such magnitude, a consideration that should weigh against the advantage of mature deliberation. Shortly after the measure had been announced to the public, the requisition for a bullion remittance to Europe was received by the Government from the Court of Directors. There is little doubt that, had his lordship been furnished with the information he desired on the first reference of the matter, he would have withheld his assent; but before this call for a remittance had reached Calcutta, the accountant-general proposed a further plan for paying off another portion of the five per cent. debt, and that a loan would be opened at four per cent., to which the holders of the five might transfer their paper; the whole being submitted as an experiment, to which the Governor-general's sanction was solicited. His lordship replied,

That any mere experimental measure, not founded, as he

1831-32. he considered the one submitted to be, upon any solid foundation or expectation of success, was very liable to be deprecated; and that, at all events, the re-opening of the four per cent. loan was a necessary preliminary to other operations.

In March 1832, another plan was brought before the vice-president in council by the accountant-general, for converting the five per cent. debt into stock, bearing a lower rate of interest, by discharging two millions sterling of that debt. An advertisement was issued without any communication with the Governor-general, as it was only considered to be following out a course of operation previously sanctioned. As an additional reason for not referring it to his lordship, it was urged, that in all matters of finance affecting extensive classes of persons, and more particularly in transactions connected with public loans, it was essential that Government should act with promptitude, and allow as little time as possible to intervene between the date when a proposition is known to be submitted, and that of the final determination thereon; as the interval is to the public always one of anxiety and doubt, of intrigue and false speculations, which open the door to mischievous jobbing, and even to frauds.

The Home authorities animadverted in very strong terms upon this proceeding, and pointedly directed, that in future no resolution materially affecting the finances of India should be taken in the

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the absence of the Governor-general, without not only his full knowledge of the grounds upon which it might be brought forward, but also his entire concurrence in the act itself. "The judgment of the Governor-general was applauded, in rejecting such fallacious documents as the India estimates had lately been." The Government were directed to inform the Court of Directors *immediately* of all important financial measures. The letter dated at Calcutta in March was not received in London till the 10th December, four weeks after a letter of the 1st of May had arrived here. "These measures were considered to afford a striking illustration of the inconvenience which results from the absence of the Governor-general from the presidency."

They also prove the importance of the financial measures of a government being conducted upon sound and steady principles, avoiding those vacillations which prove equally injurious to the interests of the state and to those of the public creditor. It is not to be expected that the person selected for the post of governor-general should possess all the requisite knowledge to guide his colleagues to a right decision on such questions; it is rather to the other members of council, who from long residence in India may have become conversant with them, that a right judgment would be looked for. But the principal party is the official officer of Government, *viz*. the accountant-general, who, it is

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to be presumed, is selected for his peculiar fitness to advise the Government on all great measures of financial arrangement; and yet the estimates of late years are described as "fallacious documents!"

The Governor-general may be called away by duties equally important to the interests of the state, as in the instances of Lord Cornwallis, in 1792; Lord Wellesley, in 1799; Lord Minto, in 1811; Lord Hastings, in 1814; and Lord William Bentinck, in 1831. On the latter occasion the state of the revenue administration, from whence the pecuniary resources of the Government are drawn, having demanded his lordship's personal supervision, as already pointed out.

Comments and strictures may proceed from home, and serve as salutary warnings to the Governments abroad; but, under the existing system, it is in India where the efficient executive must be found. Much stress had been laid upon the delay which occurred in transmitting to England the advices on the subject of the financial changes, as affecting the registered debt. If a quicker communication of the intended measures would have led to an effective interposition, it presents an additional reason in favour of steam communication.

Steam navigation.

Fourteen years have elapsed since the subject of STEAM NAVIGATION with India was first brought

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brought to the notice of the Home authorities in a despatch from Bombay of May 1823.

The practicability of establishing a monthly communication was pointed out: but there were no means of ascertaining what might be the cost. Still it was felt to be of great moment to the interests of India that the experiment should be tried, as it would in all probability facilitate the means of communication with the mother country, and thereby change their entire relation one towards the other. This was followed by a communication from the Government of Bengal, in which reference was made to the result of a public meeting held at Calcutta for the purpose of promoting the object: a committee had been formed and subscriptions opened. Although the Government were by no means sanguine, and entertained considerable apprehensions, in the persuasion that the whole was fraught with danger, they consented to subscribe twenty thousand rupees; which measure received the sanction of the Court of Directors, who applauded the zeal manifested by the public at Calcutta on the occasion.

The schemes contemplated in the establishment of steam navigation with and in India, were—the route by the Cape of Good Hope—the navigation of the Euphrates to Bussorah, and from thence to the Persian Gulph and India—the route by the Mediterranean to Alexandria, Cairo, and Suez, by the Red Sea to India—the internal navigation of

1831-32.

India, and the establishment of sea-going steamers in the Indian seas.

Voyage by the Cape in the *Enterprize.*

The route by the Cape was first accomplished by Captain Johnson, who commanded the *Enterprize*, which vessel was of four hundred and seventy tons burthen, with two engines of one hundred and twenty-horse power. She quitted Falmouth for India on the 16th of August 1825, and reached Diamond Harbour in Bengal on the 7th of December, a space of one hundred and thirteen days; of which she was one hundred and three under weigh, sixty-four of those steaming and thirty-nine under sail. The total distance was thirteen thousand seven hundred miles. The greatest run by sail in twenty-four hours was two hundred and eleven miles, the least thirty-nine. The greatest by steam assisted by sail was two hundred and twenty-five, the least eighty. The power of the engines was not considered commensurate with the tonnage; the depôts for coals were not well arranged, and a disappointment was experienced in not making the trade wind. These circumstances operated unfavourably, and it was also the first attempt. With the experience already acquired, eighty to eighty-five days is the time calculated for future voyages; but the route by the Cape is questionable. The *Enterprize* was built by a society of thirty-two gentlemen. After she reached India she was transferred to the Bengal Government for £40,000, which, together with

Value of the *Enterprize* and two other steamers in the Ava war.

passage-

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passage-money, nearly paid the first cost. She was immediately employed in the Burmese war, and proved of infinite benefit to the public service in making the passage to and from Rangoon. On the occasion of the treaty of Malown, she saved to Government six lacs of rupees, by reaching Calcutta in sufficient time to prevent the march of troops from the Upper Provinces. Two other steamers were employed in the Irrawaddy river above Rangoon, and greatly facilitated the operations against the enemy.

River navigation.

The navigation of the Ganges was the next experiment, made in the presence of Lord William Bentinck, who, immediately on his arrival, called for reports upon the best mode of carrying forward the internal river navigation. An elaborate report was prepared by Mr. Prinsep, to whom every facility was given by the public departments in collecting and digesting the materials.

From Calcutta to Allahabad the distance is eight hundred miles, and was performed in twenty days: by sail it would have occupied three months. The steaming is only carried on during the day, the dangers of the river rendering night-work impracticable. The two vessels were the *Hooghly* and *Berhampoota*: the former one hundred and fifty tons burthen, with two of Maudsley's engines, each of twenty-five-horse power; her draft, four feet. She was built at Calcutta. The desired objects were rapidity and security. They conveyed

 treasure,

1831-32. treasure, commissariat, military, and medical stores, stamped paper, and small parcels. Troops were also conveyed, and likewise the junior officers who are at the charge of Government. The annual cost to Government on these accounts amounted to £40,000, which was ample to meet the charge of the steamers.

Iron steamers.

These vessels were to be replaced by iron steamers, built by Maudsley, taken to pieces and sent out. They had been found admirably calculated for the purpose, being much cooler, perfectly free from smell and also vermin, and impossible to be struck by lightning, the iron being an universal conductor, taking the lightning off direct to the water. They were formed to draw only two feet, as adapting them for the navigation of the Indian rivers. Eight iron vessels have been sent out, four of them being tug vessels, one hundred and twenty-five feet long, twenty feet beam, with two engines of thirty horse power, the other four being accommodation vessels. The greatest advantage is to be expected from the introduction of steam-boat navigation into the interior, especially on the Indus.

Route by the Red Sea and the Mediterranean.

The next experiment was made with reference to the establishment of a steam communication with England, by the Red Sea. The first vessel was the *Hugh Lindsay*, built of teak at Bombay, 411 tons, builder's measurement, with two eighty-horse power engines, by Maudsley. She was fitted as

Voyage of the *Hugh Lindsay*.

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as an armed steamer. Her first voyage from Bombay was commenced the 20th March 1830. The coal depôts were at Aden, Juddah, Cosseir, and Suez. To Aden, 1,641 miles, in ten days and nineteen hours: at Aden five days and twenty hours shipping coals, badly arranged: left Aden 6th April for Mocha, landed there on the 7th at nine A.M.: left Mocha for Juddah at half past five P.M. on the 8th: arrived at Juddah on the 12th, at six P.M., 557 miles in four days and twelve hours: on the 17th, having been detained for coals, left for Suez. Anchored at Suez on the 22d April, being twenty-one days six hours from Bombay, steaming, and thirty-two days six hours, including stoppages.

The voyage, therefore, to England, notwithstanding all delays, would have been performed in sixty-one days. The *Hugh Lindsay* left Suez, on her return to Bombay, on the 26th April, and arrived the 29th May, during which she was nineteen days fourteen hours steaming.

Her second voyage commenced, from Bombay, the 5th December 1830, with Sir John Malcolm on board. She arrived at Cosseir the 27th December, having been steaming sixteen days sixteen hours, and making in the whole twenty-two days, stoppages included. Had a steamer been at Alexandria, letters might have reached England in fifty-three days. The *Hugh Lindsay* returned with the Earl of Clare, who, with his suite, embarked

at

1831. at Cosseir the 30th December, and reached Juddah harbour the 8th January, where they were detained forty-six days for want of coal. They left Juddah on the 23d February, and arrived at Bombay on the 20th March.

The third voyage commenced, from Bombay, on the 5th January 1832; reaching Suez on the 4th February, being twenty-one days sixteen hours. The weather was very unfavourable for steaming. Letters might have reached England in fifty-eight days. On the 20th February she left Suez for Cosseir. Reached Bombay on the 23d March.

Her fourth voyage was from Bombay, the 10th January 1833, reaching Cosseir the 9th February, and Suez the 13th.

These voyages offered the only means to judge of the practicability of a prospective attempt regarding a regular steam communication. It was assumed that none would be attempted with Suez during the south-west monsoon; but this idea was combated by Mr. Waghorn, whose boldness of assertion, it was stated, might mislead. Captain Wilson, commanding the *Hugh Lindsay*, accordingly submitted a supplement to the log in support of his views, in opposition to those advanced by Mr. Waghorn. Captain Wilson's opinions have not been practically refuted, but the general impression is in favour of the practicability of navigating the Red Sea in a south-west monsoon.

The novelty of the undertaking, the heavy build of

1833.

of the vessel, and the inadequate power of the engines, were against her. Mr. Waghorn appears to have abandoned every other pursuit in order to follow up his favourite object of establishing steam navigation *viâ* Egypt. His labours have been most zealous, and he has succeeded in fixing himself in that country, where he appears to have gained the confidence of the Pacha, and of his highness's functionaries, having laid down a regular plan for the transmission of despatches and letters to and from India and Europe.

Resolutions of the House of Commons.

The evidence before the Select Committee of the House of Commons, in June 1834, led to a resolution in favour of a regular and expeditious communication by steam as an object of great national importance: that the route between Bombay and Suez, during the north-east monsoon, had been established, and that measures should be immediately taken for the regular establishment of steam communication from India, by the Red Sea—his Majesty's Government and the East-India Company to consider whether from Bombay or Calcutta: and that, by whatever line, the net charge was to be equally borne by the Government and the East-India Company, including the charge of the expense of the land conveyance from the Euphrates, on the one hand, and the Red Sea on the other, to the Mediterranean.

As the physical difficulties on the line of the Red Sea were confined to the months of June, July, August,

1832.

August, and September, and those on the Euphrates to November, December, January, and February, the effectual trial on both lines would open a certain communication with the Mediterranean, only changing the line of the steam vessels on both sides, according to the seasons. It was to be recommended to his Majesty's Government to extend the line of the Malta packets to such parts in Egypt and Syria as would complete the communication between England and India, and that a grant of £20,000 be made by Parliament for trying the experiment with the least possible delay.

Navigation by the Euphrates.

The result of Colonel Chesney's expedition on the Euphrates has been laid before the public. After encountering extreme difficulties and great perils, he has demonstrated the practicability of navigating that river, and ascertained the tractability of the Arabs. Arrangements are in progress to give effect to the recommendation of the committee, under an agreement between his Majesty's Government and the Company.

Without imputing blame to any particular quarter, it is a singular circumstance, that although most parties, when they have examined into the question of steam navigation with India, concur in the policy and expediency of the measure; its progress, without some one leading individual will personally taking an interest in pressing it on, would be defeated, mainly from inertness on the one

1832.

one side, and an indisposition, from a doubt of its practicability or usefulness, on the other.

Lord William Bentinck has not been backward in giving his best support to the measure, which he has warmly advocated, both in India and at home.

Coorg war.

In the autumn of 1832, the conduct of the rajah of Coorg constrained his brother-in-law, Chinnah Buswah, accompanied by his wife, who was sister to the rajah, to seek refuge by flight, with twenty followers, from the Coorg territories. They arrived at the Mysore residency in September, and claimed Mr. Cassamajor's protection. The rajah determined to pursue his sister, Dewah Amajee, towards whom he meditated the most profligate conduct. In the progress of his measures he committed atrocious acts of cruelty, and at length determined to invade the territory of Mysore for the purpose of rescuing his sister, and to adopt hostile movements if necessary to his object. Mr. Cassmajor was accordingly instructed, in January 1833, to obtain a personal interview with the rajah of Coorg, for which purpose he visited Mukurree, where he learned the merciless rule of terror exercised over the Coorghas. He discovered that intrigues had been carried on by the servants of the Mysore commissioners, and that a disaffected spirit had been manifested towards the Company's government by that of Coorg, as well as by the state of Mysore. At the same time, Sirjapah Naick, the polygar of Terrikerry, who had taken

1832. taken part in the revolts in the western districts, against the authority of the rajah of Mysore, but had made his submission, on being directed to proceed to Bangalore, absconded with his family: a reward was offered for his apprehension, and the Coorg rajah was requested to deliver him up, should it appear that he had taken refuge in his territories. It was discovered, in the month of July, that he had been received with honours in the Coorg territory, and that considerable bodies of men had proceeded from Bellary to join the insurgent polygar. The rajah of Coorg was apprized by Mr. Cassamajor, that his sister and brother-in-law had gone from Mysore to Bangalore, and he was desired to give up Sirjapah Naick. This application elicited a disrespectful letter from the rajah, in which he complained of refuge being given to fugitives from his territories, and stated that the polygar, Sirjapah, had not been there. The disturbed state of the Mysore territory, the aid given by the polygar, and the support extended by the Coorg rajah, induced Sir Frederick Adam, the governor of Madras, to depute Mr. Græme to the rajah, in the month of September. This was followed by the polygar capturing a talook.

The aspect of affairs determined the Governor-general to proceed without delay to Madras. A letter from his lordship to the rajah of Coorg was despatched, for the purpose of being presented through

through Mr. Græme, announcing the intention of the Governor-general to proceed to Mysore for the purpose of meeting the rajah, when his lordship trusted all points in dispute would be settled. To this the rajah did not reply. The Governor-general, on reaching Madras, sent another letter, advising his arrival, and expressing a hope that his highness had released Mr. Græme's agent (whom he had forcibly detained), and that the negotiation might be resumed, in order to a satisfactory termination.

1833.

All attempts to effect a pacific arrangement proving ineffectual, the Governor-general directed a force to be prepared to act against Coorg, Colonel Frazer being nominated in the character of political agent. The operations were so promptly and effectually carried forward under Brigadier Lindsay, C.B., with Lieut.-colonel Stewart, Colonels Waugh, Miles, and Foulis, that Muddekerry, the capital, surrendered on the 6th, and the rajah himself on the 10th April. The most atrocious murders had been perpetrated under the orders of that sanguinary chief. Not a legitimate-born descendant, by the ties of blood, remained alive! It was accordingly determined that the Coorg territories should be brought under British rule; the grounds for this measure being detailed in a minute recorded by the Governor-general, when at Bangalore, in the month of March.

1834.

The welfare of a country, and the interests of a great

1834.
Depressed state of the commercial community at Calcutta.

a great portion of the community, are always more or less affected by commercial prosperity. These interests were still further and more intimately affected in India, where the limited extent of European residents engaged in mercantile and banking pursuits, necessarily drove the parties seeking profitable investment for their capital or saving into the hands of the agency houses, as offering the only means of profitable employment, with greater interest, than the government loans afforded, which were also liable to the fluctuations of uncertain councils.

Previously to 1813, the commercial transactions in India were in comparatively few hands. The members of the firms were composed principally of gentlemen who had been in the civil or military service. They joined the houses in the belief that their qualifications were better fitted for mercantile pursuits, and that their interests would be better advanced in that line. They were the distributors, rather than the possessors of capital.

The same system continued: partners came in without capital, and the houses became the depositories of the accumulation of the civil and military servants of the Company. The extreme spirit of speculation, which, with all its baneful effects, had been so severely felt in this country, began to be experienced in India in the year 1826. An instance occurred in 1827 at Calcutta, which operated most injuriously on the minds of the native

1833.

native traders and manufacturers. One of the agency houses had been long insolvent, and had sold by a judgment-bond to another firm, which supported it while it was gathering in, mostly upon credit, large quantities of produce of all kinds in the interior. At the moment when all had been collected, or was in transit to the presidency, judgment was entered upon the bond in the Supreme Court, and the community of the interior saw the goods they had provided, and looked upon as their security, torn from under their eyes, without the hope of a fraction of their value being set apart to satisfy their claims. Unfortunately, the failure of this firm was not the only one of its kind.*

In the early part of 1833, the mercantile community at Calcutta suffered the most severe pressure. The agency houses indicated such instability, as to leave but faint expectation of their being able to bear up against the pressure, notwithstanding the disposition evinced by the Governor-general to extend every practicable aid that could be prudently afforded. The anticipated crisis took place, and in the month of January 1834, the last house stopped payment.

Closing remarks on Lord William Bentinck's administration.

It is impossible to do more than to refer briefly and imperfectly to the leading points of an administration, which extended over a period of seven years, and which comprised such a variety of measures,

* Finance Letter to Bengal, 2d April 1828.

1833. measures, carried forward under novel and peculiar circumstances.

There had scarcely been a preceding Government, in which some prominent event had not thrown comparatively into the shade the less attractive matters, intimately connected with the welfare and happiness of the people, and with the internal government of the country.

It was the fortune of Lord William Bentinck to enter upon the office of governor-general at a time when antecedent events had given a tone to the several branches of the service, by no means calculated to diminish the onerous duties imposed upon the head of the Indian administration.

To carry into execution measures of economy and retrenchment, on points irritating to the feelings of the body constituting our main hold upon our eastern empire, was not only an unwelcome but a difficult task, requiring much firmness, tempered with judgment and discretion. The Governor-general discharged his duty, at much cost to his personal feelings; at the same time contending with unflinching determination against indiscretions, emanating in quarters where the Government would naturally have expected to meet with aid and support, in the performance of a great public trust.

Measures relating to the civil branch of the service, but not more palatable to its members, were imperatively called for: but their introduction infused a spirit of energy and zeal, where supineness

1833.

supineness or laxity of control had suffered inertness or apathy to creep in. The difficulties of the Governor-general's position were enhanced by a variety of reports, calculated to unsettle the public mind regarding the future system for governing India. An extensive inquiry, instituted by Parliament, had been prosecuted amidst fluctuating ministries, each entertaining, so far as could be gathered, opposite views of the principles upon which a future settlement should be made between the public and the Company: a state of things, materially influencing the whole frame of Indian society, but more particularly that portion at the seat of government. Publications emanating from members high in the service, evinced little respect for the authority in whose name the affairs were administered, whilst an unbridled freedom of comment was indulged on the conduct of their representative in India. Much of the feeling was to be traced to the effects of the overwelming ruin caused by the universal failures of the agency houses: havoc and dismay was spread throughout all branches. Savings had been deposited by the servants, in the cherished expectation that they would enable them to return to close their lives in their native land; but at one fell swoop they saw their little all swallowed up, their prospects blasted, and themselves left to prolong an unwilling and cheerless service, with broken spirits, and minds soured by severe and unexpected disappointment.

Amidst

1835.
Addresses to his lordship on his departure.

Amidst a state of things so little calculated to make a favourable impression upon the Indian community, Lord William Bentinck, nevertheless, received a series of addresses, bearing the strongest testimony which could be offered to the valuable services of a high public functionary, on retiring from the scene of his labours. The value of such testimonies was enhanced by the qualified terms in which they were expressed.

It was not an indiscriminate eulogy, but the honest avowal of men who were sensible that the Governor-general had conferred benefits on India which demanded a public acknowledgment. The address from the mercantile community declared, that they felt themselves impelled by a strong sense of duty to contribute their humble testimony in approval of numerous measures, completed or in preparation, having for their object the general improvement of the country, the moral and social advancement of its vast and varied population, and the development, in particular, of its commercial and agricultural resources. They well observed, that in many respects his lordship's administration had necessarily been of a character widely different from those of his predecessors. Theirs were days of war and diplomacy, and profuse expenditure; to his lordship had fallen the more painful task of consolidating, preserving, and organizing; of repairing the deep wounds in the public finances; of contending with an alarming deficit, and of enforcing the

1835.

the remedy of severe economy and retrenchment, by which the charges of India had been very greatly reduced, and the Company's treasury considerably relieved.

The native population meeting at the Hindu College declared that his lordship had done every thing kind for them; the only act of unkindness was parting with them. They expressed their veneration for his lordship's person and character, and their gratitude for the enlarged spirit of justice and benevolence with which the natives had been treated, under his administration.

At a public meeting at the Town Hall, a resolution was passed, requesting his lordship to permit his statue to be erected in some conspicuous part of Calcutta, to be of bronze, and equestrian, and to be executed by Chantrey.

Lord William Bentinck quitted Calcutta in March 1835.

The Court of Directors, on learning that his lordship's health constrained him to relinquish the government, passed the following Resolution on the 26th September 1834:

Resolved, That this Court deeply lament that the state of Lord William Bentinck's health should be such as to deprive the Company of his most valuable services; and this Court deem it proper to record, on the occasion of his lordship's resignation of the office of Governor-general, their high sense of the distinguished ability, energy zeal, and integrity, with which his lordship has discharged the arduous duties of his exalted station.

CHAPTER XVII.

THE progressive acquisition of the territorial possessions has now been traced, from the first formation of the Company's commercial factories to the establishment of the British power as the paramount authority in India.

A perusal of the first volume of this work must have gone far to satisfy the reader, that nothing could be more unjust than the charge brought against the Company, of

> Prosecuting extravagant projects and expensive wars, for the purpose of extending their dominions.

The contents of the present volume will as clearly demonstrate that the Parliamentary declaration, which was passed in order to effect ends which were supposed to have been defeated by want of power in the Company, proved utterly impotent and ineffectual, and it was not until more than seventy years had elapsed from our first contention for political supremacy, that the Home authorities were constrained to acknowledge themselves satisfied of the

> Irrepressible tendency of our Indian power to enlarge its bounds, and to augment its preponderance, in spite of the most peremptory injunctions of forbearance, and the most scrupulous obedience to them in the governments abroad.

The

The fact is, that the British empire in India has been acquired in direct opposition to the views both of Parliament and of the Company; the conquest having been made by those eminent statesmen and warriors, who were compelled to such a course of policy in order to maintain our position in that country.

If the Company, in the discharge of what they honestly felt to be their duty, desired to check the advance of our armies, their management of the financial resources, and their conduct of the trade, contributed to supply the means which their extended operations demanded, as well as to defray the cost of the vast establishment, both in England and in India, without any direct charge on this country.

It was the constitutional objection raised in 1784, which led to the Company being maintained as a political instrument in the India system. The same objection, strengthened by the extension both of territory and commerce, has been used as an argument on each subsequent renewal of the charter: whilst an attentive observer of passing events must have seen that the influence, which was guarded against with so much jealousy, has, in fact, been imperceptibly introduced in all the great and leading points, and that the last change has largely contributed to produce this result.

There is no ground for imputing to the Minister,

at either of the periods when arrangements took place with the Company, any intention to bring about such a result: and, certainly, least of all can the Ministry of 1833 be charged with such intentions: although they had many supporters for otherwise appropriating the initiatory patronage, such supporters being found amongst those who differed politically with his Majesty's Government.

Reserving to a future opportunity the consideration of this important branch of the question, in connection with the present system, as affecting the interests of India, reference will now be made to the measures following the Act of 1813, and terminating in that of 1833, which wrought so extraordinary a change in the character of the Company, and of the position in which they stand towards those territories that so long formed the subject of discussion between the Company and the Crown.

Power had been reserved to Parliament in the Act of 1813, to make further regulations for the direct and circuitous trade with places within the limits of the Company's charter,

In pursuance of this reservation, the Circuitous Trade Act was passed in 1814. In 1817 the Malta and Gibraltar Trade Act took place. In 1820, Committees of Parliament were nominated for the purpose of inquiries into the foreign trade of the country, and the means of extending it.

Among

Among other branches of trade, that with India and China was especially adverted to.

In May 1820, Mr. Canning, then president of the India Board, (who had moved, in 1813, to restrict the Company's term in the China trade to ten instead of twenty years,) pressed on the attention of the Court of Directors the expediency of establishing an entrepôt in the Eastern Archipelago, where British ships might take in tea for foreign Europe; and pointed out the expediency of the Court's alloting a portion of their tonnage to China for the use of the British public.

The Court, feeling the reciprocal aids of territory and commerce to be essential to the constitution of the Company, who had carried on the government entrusted to them in a way acknowledged to have been highly beneficial, both to the mother country and to its Indian possessions, declined, under these circumstances, being parties to any change in the China trade, as fixed by the Act of 1813.

1821. Report on foreign trade.

The Committee of the Commons, in their report on the foreign trade in July 1821, stated that they could not concur in all the apprehensions entertained by the Company of the consequences of a partial relaxation of their monopoly, but they, at the same time, admitted that great and just importance was attached by the Company to the China monopoly, as the profits from it constituted the principal resource from which their dividend was

was paid, and that such trade was, in fact, the main prop of the Company's financial system.*

In 1821, the last measure which remained to complete the extent of relaxation in the India trade under the reserved clause in the Act of 1813, was effected, by which British ships were permitted to carry on trade between all parts within the limits of the charter, and all ports, whether in Europe or elsewhere, belonging to countries in amity with Great Britain.

The Company also consented to relinquish the restriction as to the tonnage of ships engaging in the India trade, which by the Charter Act had been fixed at not less than three hundred and fifty tons.

1824-28. Discussion on India trade and produce.

The attention of the House of Commons was drawn by Mr. Whitmore to the policy of equalizing the duties on East-India sugar. The advantages to be derived from our trade with India generally were also enlarged upon: but the motion for a Committee of the House thereon was rejected. Similar motions, in 1824 and 1825, were likewise unsuccessful.

In May 1827, and shortly after Mr. Canning had been gazetted as first lord of the Treasury and chancellor of the exchequer, Mr. Whitmore moved for the appointment of a select committee to inquire into the trade between Great Britain and

* Report on Foreign Trade, 1821; No. 746 Parliamentary Papers.

and India. On that occasion he pressed upon the attention of the House the necessity of dissolving, what he termed the China monopoly. The motion was opposed, on the ground that the proper time would come when the whole subject would be ripe for consideration; but, at that moment, it was considered the most prudent course to abstain from entering into the discussion.*

On the 12th May 1829, Mr. Huskisson presented a petition from the merchants of Liverpool, praying for the removal of all restrictions on the trade with India and China; on which occasion he stated, that it was humiliating to our pride and good sense, that English ships should be excluded from traffic with China, which trade was exclusively monopolized by the East-India Company. This proceeding was followed up by Mr. Whitmore, on the 14th May, who then brought forward the general question of the trade with India and China. He again dwelt upon the impolicy of maintaining a monopoly for the conduct of the China trade, and insisted upon the necessity of a most searching inquiry by Parliament. The motion for a committee was withdrawn at the instance of Ministers, who fully admitted the necessity which existed for inquiry, but urged its postponement until

* Mr. Canning, who succeeded Lord Liverpool, died in the month of August 1827. In January 1828, the Duke of Wellington became prime minister. Mr. Huskisson resigned his office of secretary of state for the colonies on the 20th May 1828.

until the Parliamentary notice should be given to the Company.

1830.
Committees of the Lords and Commons on the affairs of the Company.

In the month of February 1830, Lord Ellenborough moved for the appointment of a Select Committee of the House of Lords, to enquire into the affairs of the Company, and into the trade between Great Britain, the East-Indies, and China. His lordship adverted to the state of the Indian finances, and pointed out the necessity for economy in every branch of the administration; observing, at the same time, that it was impossible for any government, in this or any other country, to issue stronger orders than those which had been issued by the Court of Directors, for the reduction of expenditure in every department of the state in India; adding, that the Company had afforded all the aid in their power to increase the facilities given to the external and internal trade of India. His lordship stated, that the most important question for Parliament to decide was, first, whether it would be possible to conduct the government of India, directly or indirectly, without the assistance of the Company? and, secondly, whether that assistance should be afforded in the manner in which it had hitherto been afforded, or in some other way?

Mr. Secretary Peel, moved in the House of Commons, on the same day, for a Committee for a similar purpose. He stated, that he proposed its appointmeut with the plain and honest view of having

having a full, perfect, and unreserved investigation with respect to the affairs of the Company, and not for the purpose of ratifying any engagement previously existing between the Government and the Company. In fact, no such engagement, open or secret, express or implied, existed.* Mr. Peel, in his great legislative measure on the revision of the criminal code in 1827, made especial reference to India, for which a separate provision was subsequently introduced.

Report from the Lords.

Committees were appointed by both the Houses. The report from the Committee of the Lords was laid before the House in 1830. It represented, that the inquiry prosecuted by their lordships had embraced a great variety of subjects, including the finances of India, and the means of increasing the territorial revenues. In allusion to the latter subject it was remarked, "The chief manufactures of India having been supplanted to a great extent by the manufactures of England, not only in the market of this country but in that of India itself, it has become an object of the deepest interest to improve the productions of the soil; the Committee, therefore, instituted a full inquiry

* This declaration was occasioned by a supposed statement, in a letter from Lord Ellenborough to Sir John Malcolm, that the Government were prepared to *renew* the charter, whereas it was declared by Mr. George Bankes, that the word ought to have been *review*. Whatever the statement may have been, there was nothing on the records to lead to the slightest belief that the charter would be renewed.

inquiry into the quality of the silk and of the cotton of India, and into the measures which might be adopted for their improvement; they likewise made inquiries as to sugar, tobacco, and other articles of Indian produce."

Report from the Commons.

The report from the Committee of the Commons represented, that they had proceeded to an examination of the state of the trade with China, intending to postpone, until that should be completed, their inquiry into the condition of the Indian finances.

The proceedings which took place in the progress of the examination before the Committee, rendered it impossible to separate questions so interwoven in the Company's system as those of trade and finance. The opponents of the Company knew that, if they could succeed in proving that the alleged advantages derived from the China trade were without foundation, not only all plea for a continuance of the exclusive privilege could be set aside, but that the pecuniary claims advanced by the Company would also be rendered untenable.

Company's statements as to trade and finance impugned.

They accordingly contended, that so far from the profits of the Company's trade having paid the dividend on their capital stock and the interest on the bond debt, and likewise afforded aid to the Indian finances, that all deficiency had been supplied from the territorial revenue; and they roundly asserted, that the Company had, in point of fact, no commercial capital whatever!

In

In support of these views, it was also attempted to be shewn that the Company had acted illegally in fixing the upset price of tea at their sales, and thereby forfeited their exclusive privilege, and rendered themselves liable to penalties for a breach of the law.

Evidence in support of the Company's accounts.

The evidence adduced by the Company * on these points, proved beyond all doubt, that in regard to the upset price of tea, they had acted in strict accordance with the law; that the calculations in support of an opposite view were utterly fallacious; and that the assertion of the Company's commerce having derived aid from the territorial revenue, was not only at direct variance with the opinion of the Committee of the House of Commons on the Foreign Trade in 1821, but was likewise diametrically opposed to the results of all the accounts laid before Parliament since 1814, by which it was clearly shewn that the Indian revenues had fallen short of the territorial charges.

The death of his Majesty King George the Fourth on the 26th June, led to the prorogation of Parliament on the 23d July, and to its subsequent dissolution.

Interview between Duke of Wellington and Lord Ellenborough, and the Chairman and Deputy.

On Tuesday the 12th October, the Chairs had, by appointment, an interview at Apsley-house with the Duke of Wellington and Lord Ellenborough. His Grace stated, that as the period for the

* *Vide* Evidence of J. C. Melvill, Esq., 29th April 1830.

the notice to the Company of the termination of their exclusive privileges in 1834 had arrived, they desired to see the Chairs, in order to ascertain what the views and intentions of the Company would be, in the event of its being considered expedient that the Court of Directors should continue to exercise functions similar to those now entrusted to them in the government of India, but the Company no longer to possess the monopoly of the China trade.

The Chairs expressing their individual opinions, replied, that they were satisfied the Company had no view, with respect to the government of India, beyond that of being an useful instrument in the execution of an important national trust, and that they would not be indisposed to continue their services to the public, provided the requisite means were ensured to them, by which they might be enabled to administer the government consistently with their own character, and for the benefit of this country and of India. That, financially speaking, there was a large annual deficit, which was met principally through the China trade. There was the question also of remittance. That, under the existing system, the Indian territory had access to all the *commercial capital* of the Company, which assistance the Company had been willing to afford, so long as their trade had yielded a dividend of ten and a-half per cent. That, under any contemplated change, the Court of

of Directors would feel it to be their first duty to secure the interests and property of their constituents, who, it could be hardly expected, would consent to any portion of their capital remaining at hazard without ample guarantee and security.

The Duke of Wellington and Lord Ellenborough considered, that the *Proprietors had full security for their capital stock, and for the dividend at its present rate*, in the commercial assets, and in the value of the fixed property in India, which might be judged to appertain to the Company in its commercial capacity. Other points were adverted to, and it was intimated, that when what had passed should have been communicated to a Secret Committee of Correspondence, the Duke and Lord Ellenborough hoped to be informed of the result.

The same being laid before a Secret Committee of Correspondence, on the 20th October, the Committee recorded a minute, in which they stated, that they were far from offering any objection to an early and a full consideration of the general question; but they had not anticipated being called upon, within fourteen days of the meeting of Parliament, for an opinion upon a supposed plan; nor did the Committee see the necessity of connecting the notice by Parliament with any mention of the subject in the King's speech at the opening of the session, where such notice was to be

be given. In 1792, only a few months elapsed between its being noticed from the throne and the renewal. In 1813, only one year, although the negotiation had commenced in 1808. They then expressed sentiments in full accordance with those stated by the Chairs at Apsley-house, and their readiness to enter fully into the question, whenever his Majesty's Ministers should see fit to submit any specific proposition for a future arrangement between the Public and the Company; little hope could be entertained that the Company would be allowed to retain any of their exclusive commercial privileges.

The new Parliament met on the 26th October. The resignation of the Duke of Wellington's ministry followed the division on the motion as to the Civil List on the 15th November, and on the 22d Earl Grey was gazetted as prime minister.

His lordship could not be supposed to have had much concern with the affairs of India: still it was a question upon which a decision was imperatively demanded. The commercial interests pressed for it: it was not possible to separate the questions of government and trade; and yet what minister could have been expected, on so sudden an accession to office, to deal with a subject which demanded mature and deliberate consideration, more particularly at a period of much public excitement, caused by discussions affecting the ancient institutions of the country.

Mr.

1831.
Committee on India affairs re-appointed.

Mr. Grant, as president of the Board of Control,* moved, on the 4th February 1831, for the re-appointment of the committee on East-India affairs; but within a month after its nomination Parliament was prorogued, with a view to its immediate dissolution.

Dissolution of Parliament.

New Parliament, and re-appointment of Committee on India affairs.

The new Parliament met on the 14th June, and on the 28th the committee on East-India affairs was renewed, on the motion of Mr. Grant, when some remarks were made, condemnatory of the course pursued by the Company, in not having petitioned for a renewal of their charter. The conduct of the Directors, who were also members of the committee, was questioned, because they had not called witnesses, by which the former committee had found themselves without matter to proceed with.

The Court of Directors, charged with the interests of their constituents, felt that the most prudent course for them was to abstain from petitioning Parliament, leaving it to the Company's adversaries to make out their case; at the same time reserving the right, whenever they might see fit again to exercise it, of meeting, and of controverting, if possible, the allegations advanced by their opponents. The Court withheld nothing. They had invariably expressed a desire to afford the most ample information, both oral and documentary.

* Then the Right Hon. Charles Grant, now Lord Glenelg.

mentary. Conscious of the rectitude of the course which they had pursued, in administering the weighty and important trust committed to them, they left it to the wisdom of Parliament to follow out the scheme which had been proposed for eliciting the truth.

At an interview between the president and the Chairs, on the 7th July, the latter, with reference to an allegation, that the opponents of the Company complained of an unwillingness on the part of the Company to afford information, stated, that the Company's officers were examined on the financial accounts and the China trade, and that the committee then sitting was quite competent to summon whom they pleased to give evidence. It was also observed, in reply to a declaration, that obstacles and difficulties had prevented the opponents of the Company from making out their case, and that the Company should now come forward and shew grounds to entitle them to a renewal of their charter: that the case of the Company had been established by the failure of their opponents; for, as they had been unable to establish misrule, it was fair to conclude that the government of the Company had been generally good. If any part of their administration was assailed, measures might be taken, by summoning proper evidence in the Committee, to vindicate it, and if errors existed, to remedy them; and that when the Company

pany came before Parliament as petitioners, they would be prepared to support and defend their administration. The Chairs proved that negotiation had always preceded petition; and they urged, in the strongest terms, the necessity of being put in possession of the views of his Majesty's Government at the earliest possible period.

The president then stated, that there was no alternative but for himself to take a more direct and leading part in the proceedings of the Committee. The question had, in fact, become one of finance.

The opponents of the Company having been completely foiled in their endeavours to prove that the revenue, and not commerce, had yielded the means of paying the dividends and commercial charges, and that the upset price in the sale of tea had been illegally fixed, now determined to impugn the general integrity of the Company's accounts. This was, in fact, the only remaining point; and had it been proved vulnerable, the public might have proposed their own terms, and have placed the Company at the entire mercy of Parliament, without any apparent plea of justice to rest upon in support of the interests of the Proprietors. For this purpose, Mr. Langton, a merchant of Liverpool, and one of the deputation sent up to oppose the renewal of the Company's charter, had been requested by those with whom he

 acted,

acted, to compare the statements made by the Company's officer before the Committee, on the 7th June 1830, of the results of the commercial and territorial branches of the Company's affairs, with the accounts, in order to ascertain how far they might be implicitly relied upon. This gentleman* stated to the Committee, as the result of his labours,

That the whole debt in India at the close of 1780, as well that owing before the acquisition of the territory as that taken from the revenues, beyond the amount of disposable surplus replaced by loan, must be considered as a *commercial debt*; and if, from that time to the close of 1828, India had been relieved from the payment of the interest on that debt, all other receipts and payments remaining the same, the country would have been upwards of £52,000,000 richer, that it would not have had a shilling of debt, and would have had £10,000,000 more in its coffers!

To the foregoing statement he adhered in his subsequent examination on the 26th July, when he declared,

I have, however, no doubt of the general correctness of my view of these accounts.

Being asked his opinion as to the general character and manner in which the Company's accounts had been framed, he replied:

My opinion coincides with that of *every one* with whom I have ever conversed on the subject, and who had looked into the accounts. What that opinion is, I hardly need say.

I am

* Evidence of Thomas Langton, Esq., 21st July 1831.

I am disposed to believe, not only from my own limited experience, but from the sentiments of many other mercantile men, that there can be no transactions, however complicated, which accountants of talent, ability, and experience, could not set forth and display in such a form, as that they should be intelligible to all men of a plain understanding, and not unacquainted altogether with the nature of accounts; and whenever, between individuals, accounts of an unintelligible character, and contradictory in their details, are presented, there will never be but one inference drawn from them, *that either ignorance or bad faith presided attheir preparation.*

Here was a direct charge against the Company, not founded merely upon the opinion of Mr. Langton, but an opinion coinciding with that of *every one* with whom he had conversed on the subject.

It was, however, clearly shewn by the evidence of the Company's officer, on the 30th August, that the attempt to establish the Indian debt as a debt created for commercial purposes, was wholly opposed to the repeated declarations of Parliament, in 1793, 1811, 1812, and 1813, and that the converse of the proposition had long been settled by competent authority. Parliamentary documents were proved to have existed where Mr. Langton implied that they were only accounts of the Company's accountant-general; and it was also proved, that the results had been examined and sanctioned by a committee of the House of Commons. It was, likewise, shewn, that in Mr. Lang-

ton's statements great omissions had been made, and many erroneous charges inserted, and that his conclusions had been arrived at in utter ignorance of the various political causes which had occasioned the accumulation of political debt.*

On the 20th September Mr. Langton had the opportunity of affording the Committee explanations on his former evidence, and on the refutation given to it by the Company's finance officer. Instead, however, of meeting and controverting the erroneous statements and inferences charged upon him by the Company's officer, he dealt in generalities, and declared, that he was satisfied there could never be two opinions as to the Company's accounts amongst men of business.

The objections, and imperfect and unmeaning explanations, given by Mr. Langton on his cross-examination, were such, that even his coadjutors were constrained to admit his failure.

The session terminated in the month of October.

On the 27th January 1832, the president of the Board † moved for the re-appointment of a select committee, and observed, that the committees which had already sat in both houses, had collected a great mass of valuable information, but it had been put together in an irregular and confused manner, and, he apprehended, many important points

* *Vide* Evidence, 30th August 1831 (4433, 4444).

† Right Hon. Charles Grant.

points had not been touched upon. When he proposed the committee, twelve months before, he felt that it was not desirable that the Government should take any prominent or leading part. That at that time there were two parties, and of course there were two at the present time: those who approved a renewal of the privileges of the Company, and those who were opposed to their renewal. He expected from the controversy, that the truth would be elicited by each party endeavouring to prove his own case. But the Court of Directors did not feel themselves called upon to enter into the examination of the question at all; and those who were opposed to them, owing to particular circumstances, were unable to do justice to their own case.

From what has already been stated, it will have been seen that, immediately after the charter of 1813 had been concluded, unceasing endeavours were made to interfere with, and impair, the exclusive privileges of trade enjoyed by the Company. Hence it was apparent, that the most determined opposition would be given to a renewal of any of their privileges, and that it would be almost hopeless on the part of the Company to expect, in the conflicting state of parties, with the adverse feeling which existed to the maintenance of any thing wearing the character of monopoly, and more especially after the opinion expressed by his Majesty's Ministers, on the 30th October 1830,

as

as to the China trade, that any petition could have been presented with a reasonable hope of its meeting with a favourable reception. On all former occasions, when the Company petitioned Parliament, the general prayer of such petition had received the countenance of the minister of the day. But the case was now totally altered. The Company were opposed from all quarters; they found no direct countenance on the part of his Majesty's Government; they were left to meet as they could the charges brought against them, as affecting both their commercial and financial transactions; and when a complete refutation had been given to statements which went to impugn the integrity of the whole of their accounts, no opinion was expressed, that such refutation was in any degree satisfactory. But if the position of the Company was novel, so was that of the Minister. A preceding administration had candidly declared there must be an end to the China monopoly; it could not therefore be expected that a new ministry, of avowed liberal commercial principles, should have supported the continuance. It necessarily became a matter of account between the public and the Company, the India minister being the guardian of the joint purse.

The motion for a general committee on the affairs of the East-India Company being acceded to, it was divided into six sub-committees, *viz.*

Public,

Public,
Finance and Accounts—Trade,
Revenue,
Judicial,
Military,
Political or Foreign.

Their labours terminated in August 1832. The several reports were laid before the House, and ordered to be printed. They consisted of 8,149 pages of close print, which, with the matter already given to Parliament, made an aggregate of between thirteen and fourteen thousand closely printed pages of large quarto.

The *Public Report* touched upon the Home Government—Local Government—Law—Natives—Ecclesiastical—Patronage—Education, Civil and Military — Education, Natives — Press — Intercourse with India—Settlement of Europeans.

The *Revenue Report*, upon the Land Revenue—Salt Monopoly—Opium Monopoly—Transit Duties—Customs—Sayer and Akbarry—Town Duties—Wheel Tax — Tobacco—Post Office — Stamps — Pilgrim Taxes.

The *Judicial Report*, *Military Report*, and *Political and Foreign*, on the several matters connected with the administration of justice, and the condition of the army, and the Company's political relations; and lastly

The *Finance Report*.

Notwithstanding the scrutiny which had been already

1832.
Further scrutiny into the Company's accounts.

already instituted into the financial accounts of the Company, the suggestion thrown out by Mr. Langton was adopted:—The Board of Commissioners engaged a professional accountant, distinct from the establishment either at the Board or the India House, for the purpose of examining the accounts. This gentleman (Mr. Pennington) possessed no knowledge of the Indian accounts. When examined before the Committee, two months after he had been engaged in the investigation, he represented, that he had experienced difficulties in entering into an examination, from apparent discrepancies; but admitted, that he had no reason to question the accuracy of the statements of the accounts, taken simply as statements. At the close of the month of July, after this gentleman had been occupied for seven months in the scrutiny, he reported, that territory had gained, from 1814-15 to 1828-29, exclusive of interest, the sum of £3,507,423, by using the Board's rate of exchange in repaying the sums advanced by commerce to territory; that the average profit of the India and China trade for the fifteen years was £1,009,047. That of the commercial profits for the fifteen years, £4,923,021 had been directly applied to territorial purposes, to the liquidation of Indian debt, or in a manner that operated to prevent its increase. He then referred to the statements of Mr. Langton, Mr. Wilkinson, and Mr. Rickards, and observed, "it was only necessary to

Mr. Pennington's evidence. Supports Company's statements.

Appendix to Report, 1832, page 21.

to compare the statements of those parties with each other, to shew their insufficiency for the objects which they had in view." Mr. Langton considered *territory* as the only ostensible party in India; Mr. Rickards and Mr. Wilkinson regarded *commerce* as the only ostensible party.

If, added Mr. Pennington, concession were made, that certain payments clearly territorial were a charge upon the Company's trade, then it might be admitted, notwithstanding mistakes and omissions in their statements, that the debt of India had been mainly incurred in support of commerce; *but these concessions cannot be made.* The payments arose in territorial and political causes, and not in the wants of commerce, and were quite sufficient to account for the increase of the Indian debt since 1793, without supposing that any part of its produce had been applied to the augmentation of the Company's commercial property. The augmentation of that property since 1793 appears to have resulted from the gradual accumulation of commercial profit, together with the increase of subscribed capital at that time authorized.*

A more triumphant result, as proving the accuracy of the Company's accounts, could not have been desired. It was a result confirmed by the deliberate conviction of the Parliamentary Committee, who, in their report regarding the financial operations of the Company, expressed themselves in the following terms:—

"The

* 20th July 1832.

Opinion of Parliamentary Committee.

"The finances of India have derived advantage from their existing connexion with the commerce of the Company; through the direct application of surplus commercial profit, and by the rates of exchange at which the Board of Control decided, that the territorial advances from commerce in England should be repaid to commerce in India."

Negotiation as to the Charter opened.

The negotiation with his Majesty's Government respecting the charter, was opened in the afternoon of the 10th December, when the Chairman and Deputy Chairman had an interview with Earl Grey and Mr. Grant. His lordship stated, that a paper was in the possession of Mr. Grant, which contained an outline of the leading points it was thought necessary to touch upon in the first instance. After it had been read, a conversation of some length passed upon the general question. The Chairs then took their leave, with the understanding that a copy of the paper should be forwarded to them. It was accordingly transmitted to the Chairman the same evening, and was ultimately laid before the Court.

The Hints contained twenty-nine propositions. Of these the first eight related to the cessation of trade, the surrender to the crown of all the Company's assets, commercial and territorial, with all their rights and possessions, for an annuity of £630,000 per annum. The annuitants to retain the character of a Joint Stock Company.

The next eleven related to the patronage, and involved

involved the continuance of the East-India College.

The twenty-third related to the free resort of British subjects to India.

The remaining six to the powers of the Board.

The question soon assumed its real character, *viz.* one of finance, dividing itself into two parts: the claims of the Proprietors on the one side; the other, the sufficiency of pecuniary means to enable the Company to fulfil the political functions with which they might be charged in the proposed plan.

The Directors supported the first, upon the ground that the Company had acquired property amply sufficient to provide an investment in consols equal to the required dividend. On the second point, they expressed their apprehension, that the abolition of the Company's commercial privileges would deprive them of the means, hitherto derived from trade, to meet the deficiencies in the Indian revenues. A communication to this effect was made to the President of the Board by the Chairs, on the 3d January 1833. It was replied to by Mr. Grant, on his return from Scotland, on the 12th February, in a letter which contained an able and argumentative exposition of the circumstances in which the Company were placed, and of their rights, as well as those of the public. It was stated that his Majesty's Ministers considered,

1833. Negotiation with his Majesty's Ministers.

Mr. Grant's views as to the Company and India.

Notwithstanding too much past defect and error, and in spite

spite of much remaining imperfection, the political administration of India through the Company, had secured to the inhabitants of that country so considerable a measure of the advantages which it was the proper object of a Government to confer, and evinced so much susceptibility of receiving improvement, suggested by experience and reflection, that they would not be justified in lightly proposing to disturb the system in its essential elements. That by a careful observation of the practical effects of the blended system of trade and government, the Company ought, as soon as possible, to be released from commercial dealings; and that the interests of the nation would be best consulted by no longer continuing the China trade as an exclusive privilege, though he did not deny the merit claimed to the China trade by the Company, in having both discharged the cost of remittance, and also supplied the deficiency of revenue.

With respect to the competency of India to answer all the just demands on her exchequer, no rational doubt could exist. A revenue which, notwithstanding fluctuations, had during the last twenty years been steadily progressive; which, estimated according to parliamentary rates of exchange, had now reached the annual amount of twenty-two millions, and which promised still to increase; a territory almost unlimited in extent; a soil rich and fertile, and suited to every kind of produce; great resources not yet explored; a people, generally speaking, patient, frugal, laborious, improving, and evincing both desire and capacity of further improvement; these, he thought, were sufficient pledges that our treasury in the East, under wise management, would be more than adequate to meet the current expenditure.

It was admitted, that " the proposition of his Majesty's Ministers involved a surrender, but it also involved an equivalent;" and the Court were apprized,

apprized, that, " to accept or reject it rested with the East-India Company." They were at the same time informed, that should the Company contemplate trading, apart from the exercise of political functions, on a footing of free competition, such trade, in the judgment of his Majesty's Government, could not be profitable; and the Court were apprized " with all plainness," that the interests of the Company in the commercial property, which they regarded as exclusively commercial, were involved in a multiplicity of doubts and entanglements, from which an escape seemed to be next to impossible, except through some such comprehensive scheme as that proposed. At all events, a detailed and minute inquiry would be necessary, to set the matter at rest; but the very institution of such an inquiry

Would give a severe shock to the credit of the Company. Such inquiries are usually protracted beyond the estimated time. In the given case, the examination would extend back through the transactions of nearly a century, and would apply to property both in India and in England, and afloat, and, as to a great portion of it, placed under very peculiar circumstances. In the interim the charter expires, the China monopoly is at an end, and in what situation, it was asked, were the East-India Stock-holders? From what fund were the dividends to be paid? In what manner were the commercial operations of the Company, even those in progress, to be carried forward?

Court's views.

The Court of Directors controverted the views taken with reference to the financial operations of India

India when the Company should be deprived of all trade.

They stated their readiness to meet the most searching inquiry as to the Company's accounts, although the doubt thrown upon them, after the extraordinary tests to which they had been subjected, created some surprise. They expressed their desire to meet the question upon the principle of liberal compromise; but contended for some guarantee, or some collateral security, for the payment of the dividends, and ultimately for the capital if necessary.

Mr. Grant names guarantee fund.

The Court were assured, that his Majesty's Government desired to fortify the interests of the Proprietors by some collateral security in the shape of a sinking fund, formed by the investment of a portion of the commercial assets in the national stocks; the sum of £1,200,000 was proposed to the Court for that purpose. After offering explanations upon some other points, it was stated, that Ministers felt it to be their duty to call for a decision on the arrangement as it then stood; and intimated that it would not be in their power to entertain the proposal of any additions or modifications in the character of the conditions, precedent to the adoption of the plan on the part of the Company.

Court desires further information, and state their claims.

The Court, nevertheless, asked for further explanation connected with the proposal. They remarked,

That the Company were called upon to surrender every thing which they possessed as a corporation:—their capital, computed at more than twenty-one millions sterling, every item

item of which was commercial in its origin and present character;—their right to trade, most valuable when considered in connexion with that capital, and with the position which the Company had established here and abroad, and which right, if they chose to exercise it, would greatly interfere with, if not altogether prevent, the advantages which private merchants expected to reap from a free trade with China;—their pecuniary claims, some sanctioned by a Committee of Parliament both in principle and amount, and all recognized either by Parliament, or in Parliament, by ministerial statements:—their lands, forts, and factories in India, for which, they contended, they had as good a title as that by which any property is held;—and finally, their claims in respect of the territory at large, which Parliament had always reserved. The right of the Company had been questioned, but the Court were satisfied of the validity of their claims; at the same time they were not insensible to the difficulty of realizing and possessing themselves of them, if the King's Government were adverse to the Company. They then pressed the addition of £891,000 three per cent. stock to the £1,200,000 proposed by Ministers as a guarantee fund: they also desired to know the term for which the annuity was to be granted. They urged the necessity of their possessing the opportunity of giving publicity to their views, on important differences with the Board of Commissioners, by an appeal to Parliament; publicity as a rule, and not as an exception, being, in the judgment of the Court, the most effectual method that could be devised for maintaining a wholesome check upon the Board of Commissioners.

Court ask for an increase of guarantee fund, and a rule of publicity.

The Court likewise pressed the continuance to them of the power to make pecuniary grants of limited amount without reference to the Board. They appealed to past experience, to shew whether any abuse had existed in the exercise

exercise of that power; and if, as they were persuaded, no such abuse could be proved, they relied upon its being determined that the power should still remain with regard to the home establishment. They were satisfied, if the amount fixed for its expense was not to be varied at the pleasure of the Board, but only in the event of an alteration in the extent of the establishment, or in circumstances affecting the scale of remuneration generally, as it would always be the desire of the Court to keep their establishment within bounds, consistent with efficiency, and with what was due to those who devoted themselves to the Company's service. They contended against the Board's possessing any power over the right of recall, to be exercised by the Court, of governors-general, governors, and commanders-in-chief. It appearing to be contemplated that Ministers should, to some extent, be invested with the power of appropriating the commercial property, and that outstanding commercial obligations and the claims of the Company's commercial servants were to be made over with the property of the Crown, to be dealt with as Ministers might see fit, the Court apprehended that, upon no principle of law or equity, could claims and obligations unconnected with the territorial government, and arising solely out of contracts and engagements which the Company had entered into as a commercial corporation acting under a perpetual charter, be transferred from the Company to any person or persons whatsoever.

The duration of the annuity, and the term for which the government of India was to be continued to the Company, were points still undecided. Forty years was accordingly named by his Majesty's Ministers as the term for the former; but it was thought better to leave the term of the

the Company's proposed political functions open. With regard to appeals, it was suggested that all cases in which pecuniary claims of an old date were revived, and concerning which the Court and the Board differed (such as those which had unfortunately occurred of late),* there should by law be provided means, if any could be devised, of referring them to the consideration and decision of some independent authority or judicature. An assurance was given, that the consideration due to those meritorious servants of the Company, whose interests might be affected by the change, was fully participated in by the Government.

The Chairs, with reference to the foregoing explanations, intimated to the President, that a General Court had been specially summoned for the 25th, but that the Court could not submit to the Proprietors any distinct recommendation upon the subject; and they feared it would be impossible for them, at any time, to lend their sanction to the proposed scheme, unless the Company retained the administration of the country for the time during which their interests were to be identified with it.

Proceedings of Court of Proprietors.

The whole of the correspondence which had taken place was laid before the Proprietors on the 25th

* *Vide* Papers printed for the Proprietors, as to pecuniary claims of British subjects on Native Princes of India, 1834.

25th March.* They met on the 15th April, for the purpose of taking it into consideration; on which day a resolution was submitted by Sir John Malcolm, and discussed by the Proprietors on the 16th, 18th, 19th, 22d, 23d, and 25th April. Various amendments having been proposed and considered, the following resolution, on the main question, was agreed to by the Court, as the question to be decided by ballot, *viz.*

That, having attentively considered the correspondence which was laid before the Proprietors on the 25th ultimo, this Court must, in the first place, express their cordial approbation of the conduct of the Court of Directors, in maintaining, as they have done, with judgment, zeal, and ability, the rights and interests of the East-India Company.

That, on reviewing the intimate connexion which has so long subsisted between India and the Company, this Court desire to record their conviction, that the Company can have no other object, in undertaking to administer the territorial government for a further term, than the advancement of the happiness and prosperity of our native subjects; and that, if Parliament, in its wisdom, should consider, as his Majesty's Ministers have declared, that that great object may be best promoted by continuing the administration in the hands of the Company, having, through the Court of Directors, suggested, as it was their duty to do, the difficulties and dangers, political as well as financial, which beset the dissolution of the connexion between

* A dissent by H. St. George Tucker, Esq. of the 30th March was also laid before the General Court, stating his reasons for withholding his full and unqualified assent to the large and important concessions "extorted from the Company in the course of the negotiation."—(Negotiation Papers, p. 113.)

between the territorial and the commercial branches of their affairs, will not shrink from the undertaking, even at the sacrifices required, provided that powers be reserved, to enable the Company efficiently to administer the government, and that their pecuniary rights and claims be adjusted upon the principle of fair and liberal compromise.

That the Company, however, looking to the present and prospective state of the Indian finances, to the aid which the territory derives from the trade, and to the probable difficulty of effecting remittances from India under the proposed system, are of opinion, that it is not reasonable that 'the Company's assets, commercial and territorial, with all their possessions and rights, shall be assigned to the Crown, on behalf of the territorial government of India,' in exchange, as proposed by his Majesty's Ministers, for an annuity of ten and a half per cent. for forty years, payable in England out of the territorial revenues, and redeemable at the end of that period at the rate of £100 for every £5. 5*s.* of annuity, except on the following conditions, *viz.*

> First.—That the sum to be set apart for a Guarantee Fund, be extended to such an amount as, upon reasonable calculation, will be sufficient, with the accumulations during forty years, to redeem the annuity at the expiration of that term; and that in the event of India failing in any one year to remit sufficient funds to pay the dividend, the deficiency shall be supplied out of the Guarantee Fund, any sums which may be taken for that purpose being made good to the fund by subsequent remittances from India.
>
> Secondly.—That the Company exercising the same powers as they now possess under their charter, shall

continue to administer the government of India for a defined period, not less than twenty years; and if deprived of it at the expiration of that term, or at any time subsequently thereto, they shall be allowed the option of demanding payment of the principal, at the rate of £100 for each £5. 5*s.* of annuity; and whenever paid off, they will be entitled, if they shall see fit, with their capital, or any portion thereof, to resume their undoubted right to trade, which it is now proposed by his Majesty's Ministers should be in abeyance.

Thirdly.—That during the period of the Company's administration of the territorial government, all measures, involving direct or contingent expenditure, shall originate with the Court of Directors, and be subject, as at present, to the control of the Board of Commissioners, under the restrictions of the existing law; and further, that sufficient powers be reserved to the Company to check, by a system of publicity to both Houses of Parliament, or by some other means, any acts of the Board which may appear to the Court of Directors to be unconstitutional, to militate against the principles of good government, to interfere with substantial justice to our allies, or to invalidate or impair the security for the dividend; and

Fourthly.—That a sufficient power be retained over the commercial assets, to enable the Court of Directors to propose to the Company, and ultimately to the Board, for their confirmation, a plan for making suitable provision for outstanding commercial obligations, and for such of the commercial officers and servants of the Company as may be affected by the proposed arrangements.

That

That the Court of Directors be requested to communicate this resolution to his Majesty's Ministers.

The same was carried by the ballot on the 3d May, the votes being

477 for the question,
52 against the question.

425 majority.

Ministers agree to certain modifications.

Thus, notwithstanding the claims put forth to commercial property of the value of twenty-one millions sterling, and to territorial possessions, forts, and factories, with as good a title as that by which any property is held, only one month intervened between the first announcement of the proposed scheme to the Proprietors and its adoption, with some modification, with only fifty-two dissentients out of five hundred and twenty-nine votes: the latter number being scarcely a fourth part of the Proprietors as a body, and little beyond a third part of the number who have voted in favour of a candidate for the direction!

The president of the Board, on the 27th May, expressed the satisfaction with which his Majesty's Ministers learned the termination of the appeal to the ballot; and that they were happy to understand from it that the Proprietors, though not regarding with unqualified approbation the plan laid before them, were, on the whole, prepared to assent to its adoption, should it receive the sanction of

of Parliament. He stated it to be the anxious wish of his Majesty Ministers to accommodate themselves, as far as practicable, to the views and feelings of the Company, and in this disposition they re-considered the resolution of the Proprietors of the 3d May.

Increase guarantee fund.

They accordingly agreed to increase the guarantee fund to two millions, the sum which had been recommended by the Court of Directors.*

Dividend to have a preference.

The dividend to have a preference over every other payment.

Company to administer government of India for twenty years.

The Company to administer the government of India for a defined period of twenty years.

With regard to the words in the resolution, "exercising the same powers as the Company now possess under their charter," Mr. Grant stated, that

He did not know whether they were introduced with any specific reference: but to the general propositions which they expressed, his Majesty's Ministers, through him, had repeatedly declared their adherence, and they were not aware that it was, in the slightest degree, impaired by any modification they contemplated in the existing system. Whatever changes Parliament might, in its wisdom, see fit to adopt, could, he did not doubt, be made, without detriment to the substantial authority of the Company.

Board not to have a *veto* on recall by Court.

If the words had been inserted in consequence of the hint thrown out in the memorandum, that the Board should have a *veto*

* A Secret Committee of the whole Court, on the 18th of March 1833, had decided in the negative on a proposition for increasing the guarantee fund to £3,000,000.—(Negotiation Papers, page 92)

a *veto* on the recall of governors and military commanders in India, it was not the intention of his Majesty's Ministers to insist on that suggestion. They also agreed, that if, at the expiration of the term, or at any subsequent period, the Company are deprived of the political government, the Proprietors shall have the option, at three years' notice, of being paid off, at the rate of £100 for every £5. 5*s*. of annuity; and that the Proprietors, whenever paid off, shall be entitled, if they see fit, to resume their undoubted right to trade, which is now to be placed in abeyance."

Rule of Parliamentary publicity rejected.

To the suggestion, that sufficient powers be reserved to the Company to check, by a system of publicity to both Houses of Parliament, or by some other means, any acts of the Board which may appear to the Court to be unconstitutional, Ministers saw no plan which was not, on public grounds, liable to grave objection. They offered no opposition to the Court's retaining sufficient power over the Company's commercial assets to provide for outstanding obligations.

These several modifications of the plan of his Majesty's Government were acknowledged with "much satisfaction by the Court," who also expressed their persuasion, that their constituents, equally with themselves, would appreciate the spirit of frankness and conciliation in which those modifications had been conceded. The two remaining points, being the Guarantee Fund and the provision for publicity, were deemed of vital consequence, *viz*. the Guarantee Fund to be made up £3,000,000; the object of publicity to be effected by a communication to Parliament of the facts of a difference between the Board and the Court, and

to

to be made *after* the orders had been despatched. It was observed in reply,

That as to the Guarantee Fund, an accumulation of even six millions would be amply sufficient to obviate financial difficulty, in effecting any arrangement that might be suggested by the condition of paying the full amount of twelve millions; and that the Proprietors, under the proposed arrangement, if paid off *before* the period at which the guarantee should have reached twelve millions, would have the same advantage as if the fund provided had been larger; and if not paid off before that period, they would have the same advantage as if the term of redemption were extended. As to the question of publicity, his Majesty's Government were satisfied that, for all practical purposes, the Court were already invested with sufficient powers, and they consequently objected to the introduction into the home system of any principle of which they could not admit the necessity, and which, whatever precise shape it might assume, could not fail to operate prejudicially to good government.

The President then stated, that, "in coming to a close, he felt it his duty, on the part of his Majesty's Ministers, to request that the present communication might be considered as final, and that no want of respect, on his part, would be ascribed to him, in asking, on the part also of his Majesty's Ministers, that the Company would be pleased to pronounce an opinion unconditionally and conclusively."*

Resolution of the Court of Directors on the modifications.

The Court of Directors resolved, that as the principle contended for by the Company was admitted, to the extent that, if paid off before the Guarantee Fund had become twelve millions, they would have the same advantage as if the term of redemption were extended, and considering also that,

* Negotiation Papers, page 198.

that, by the modifications which Ministers had allowed, the Company obtained a material addition to the amount first proposed, and that the fund was rendered available to secure the dividend as well as stock, they were prepared, should it be the pleasure of Parliament to limit the sum to two millions, to recommend the Proprietors to defer to such an arrangement.

The Court adhered to the opinion, repeatedly expressed, as to some measure of publicity to be exercised as a rule, and not as a privilege; and they entertained a confident expectation, that Parliament, taking the same view, would make suitable provision.*

Chairs dissent.

The Chairman and Deputy Chairman dissented from this view of the Court, because they considered that the Company had a right to a Guarantee Fund of three millions, and because they deemed a rule of publicity indispensable, and cited the case of the Calcutta bankers, and of Hydrabad, in proof of that necessity: considering, also, that by such a rule, "promptness in decisions would be promoted, justice readily afforded, and heavy law charges avoided."†

Resolution of Court

The resolution of the Court of Directors was adopted

* Negotiation Papers, page 203.

† Ibid., page 208:—C. Marjoribanks, W. Wigram, Esqrs., 10th June 1833.

George Smith, Esq., concurred in this dissent.

Dissents were likewise recorded by H. St. G. Tucker, Esq. 11th June 1833.

adopted by the General Court on the 10th of June.

Debate, House of Commons, on Resolutions moved by Mr. Grant.

On Thursday the 13th June, Mr. Grant, in a Committee of the whole House, brought before Parliament the subject of the Company's charter.

The whole of the transaction was to be entirely free from the finances of this country. The ability of the Indian territories was not to be doubted. The intentions with regard to the internal government of India were then pointed out. It was proposed to establish a fourth government in the Western Provinces; to extend the powers of the Governor-general; to appoint a Supreme Council, to whom power was to be given to make laws for India, and to define the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court. The presidencies of Madras and Bombay were to be made more subordinate to the Government-general, and their Councils reduced.

The following resolutions were then moved :—

> 1st. That it is expedient that all his Majesty's subjects shall be at liberty to repair to the ports of the empire of China, and to trade in tea and in all other productions of the said empire, subject to such regulations as Parliament shall enact for the protection of the commercial and political interests of this country.
>
> 2d. That it is expedient that, in case the East-India Company shall transfer to the Crown, on behalf of the Indian territory, all assets and claims of every description belonging to the said Company, the Crown, on behalf of the Indian territory, shall take on itself all the obligations of the said Company, of whatever description, and that the said Company shall receive from the revenues of the said territory such a sum, and paid in such a manner, and under such regulations, as Parliament shall enact.

3d. That

3d. That it is expedient that the government of the British possessions in India be entrusted to the said Company, under such conditions and regulations as Parliament shall enact, for the purpose of extending the commerce of this country, and of securing the good government, and promoting the moral and religious improvement of the people of India.

Mr. W. Williams Wynn, who had filled the office of president of the Board for a longer period than any other party, dwelt at considerable length on the mode of electing the Directors. He was opposed to the number being continued at twenty-four, and to the party choosing them being the Proprietors of East-India Stock, who, he contended, were incompetent to judge of the requisite qualifications. The absence of responsibility was what he objected to throughout the system.

A summary of the principal provisions of the proposed Bill, exclusive of those relating to the trade, the political administration of India, and the terms of the compromise, was transmitted to the Chairs by Mr. Grant on the 24th June. On the 27th the other provisions of moment were forwarded to the Court, and on the 29th a printed copy of the Bill.*

Court's sentiments on the Bill.

On the 2d July the Court communicated their sentiments to Mr. Grant,

On the subject of the admission of Europeans into India, the state of the law, and on the proposed provisions relative to the construction of the Indian governments. They concurred

* Negotiation Papers 1833, page 259.

curred in the necessity of some suitable restraint on Europeans, such as should be adequate to the protection of the natives. They stated, that any plan calculated to improve the condition of the natives, by abolishing slavery, without doing violence to the feelings of caste or the rights of property, could not fail to meet with the Court's cordial approbation; and that the more extensive employment of the natives as servants of the local governments, was in accordance with the views which the Court had for many years expressed and acted upon. As to the formation of an uniform system of law, the Court in no way objected to the inquiry, but doubted whether, in the present state of Indian society, it would be found practicable to accomplish that uniformity of law, which had not yet been found attainable in our long settled and highly civilized country.

Upon the proposals affecting the constitution of the Indian Governments the Court remarked, that the policy hitherto approved and enjoined by Parliament had been, to maintain India in strict dependency on Great Britain, and to unite efficiency abroad with the exercise of constant and vigilant control at home. The local governments separately constituted, with sufficient power to the Supreme Government to enable it to provide for a general identity of system, were by law subjected to the Court and the Board. The Court had enjoined the Supreme Government, in 1828, to make a reference to England on all matters involving a change of principle, or increase of establishments and expense of large amount, as a general rule, except the public service urgently called for a greater promptitude of action than would consist with such a reference. The proposed change placed the whole control in the Supreme Government, thereby not only interfering with the control exercised by the Home authorities, but investing the Governor-general with a sway almost absolute, and rendering it

scarcely

scarcely possible always to select a fit person to be entrusted with authority of such magnitude. The additional labour thrown on the governor-general would be great. The Court conceived, that the separation of the upper provinces of Bengal into a distinct presidency might be effected without incurring the charge of a fourth presidency: and they deemed the removal of councils from Madras and Bombay to be very objectionable, as depriving the governors (presuming that they would still be appointed from home) of that aid which was most essential in the affairs of government. The armies of Madras and Bombay were still to be continued separate, but the plan proposed to deprive the commanders-in-chief of those armies of the seats in council which had hitherto been usually allotted to them; upon this the Court suggested the exercise of the greatest caution and deliberation.*

The Court expressed their satisfaction, that the Bill reserved to them the necessary powers regarding the laws which the Supreme Government might enact affecting the natives, and likewise the provincial courts, which laws were also to be subject to the King's approbation.

With reference to the contemplated alteration in the number of the Directors, the Court declared their deliberate opinion, that the continuance of the number as fixed by charter was not only essential to their independence, but that a reduction would be an infraction of the privileges which the Proprietors exercised, which privileges it had been arranged with his Majesty's Government should continue.

On the 3d July the proposed Bill was laid before

* Upon this point, *vide* pages 470 to 473.

Court's observations on the Bill.

before the Court, each clause being separately considered. On the 9th, the Court approved of a paper of observations and suggestions on the Bill. Amongst others, they pointed out the necessity of some modification in clauses 28 and 29, subjecting the whole of the Court's correspondence with individuals in this country to the cognizance, and even approval, of the Board; which, if persevered in, would reduce the Court to a "mere machine." This provision was not contemplated in the original Hints, but it is retained in the Act. It was, in a great measure, to be attributed to the evidence of a gentleman who had long filled the office of secretary to the Board of Control. Notwithstanding the opportunity which this appointment afforded, of acquiring information on the India system generally, it will be perceived from the evidence before the public Committee, that the duties of the Board are considered to have been very imperfectly performed before 1807. But facts are diametrically opposed to such a conclusion. The Board took the most minute interest in every matter not purely commercial. The formation of the Committees at home, and even the home establishment of the Company, with the allowances, as well as Boards and Councils abroad, were suggested by the Commissioners. Regular budgets were submitted to Parliament by the President up to 1805. The departmental arrangement of the Board was consequent upon the introduction

tion of the Revenue and Judicial systems, under the advice of Col. Munro, who arrived in England at that time from Madras.

A clause was also suggested by the Court, to bar all pecuniary claims after the lapse of a given number of years. The question of abolishing slavery was pointed out as needing great caution. On the proposed extension of the ecclesiastical establishment, which had increased from £40,000 to £100,000 per annum, the Court addressed a separate letter to the Board; and they suggested that, as the means of oriental instruction in this country were largely extended, it would be the better to abolish the East-India College, and appoint a test, by which the qualification of all parties to be nominated writers should in future be governed.

On the clause which provided for four candidates being sent up,

> The Court had no hesitation in submitting it as their opinion, in reference to the general diffusion of the means of liberal education throughout the country, including the oriental languages, as regards both European and oriental instruction, and to the disadvantage which results from confining the associations of youth destined for foreign service, to companions all having the like destination; that it is both unnecessary and inexpedient any longer to maintain that institution, and that the great expense which it now occasions might be saved. They had not the least doubt that a system of public examination, sufficiently high, might be provided to secure adequately qualified parties.

In support of this opinion, it may suffice to refer

Court's observations on the Bill.

refer to the names of the following distinguished servants, amongst others, mentioned in the present volume, *viz.* Sir George Barlow, Colonel Kirkpatrick, Mr. Webb, the Hon. Mountsuart Elphinstone, Colonel Wilks, Sir Thomas Munro, Sir Barry Close, Sir John Malcolm, Captain Sydenham, Mr. Lumsden, Mr. Elphinstone, Mr. Adam, Sir Charles Metcalfe, all of whom were in the service previously to the establishment of the College.

The Proprietors so fully concurred with the Directors, that they petitioned the House of Commons in July 1833, and represented,

That they were deliberately convinced that efficieney would be more likely to be obtained in a general system of education, brought to the standard of a high test of examination, than in any exclusive system; the Court urged the abolition of the college as a measure strongly recommended by considerations of expense, as the maintenance of that institution had, in the last term, caused a charge upon India at the rate of upwards of ten thousand pounds per annum, when there were less than thirty students within its walls; and they also submitted the important fact, that in the course of the last ten years, the college had at one time been unequal to supply the requisite number of writers, and it was then more than adequate to the supply.

Every consideration appears to recommend that the repeal of the objectionable clause in the Act, and the abolition of the college, should be carried forward simultaneously.

Mr. Grant acknowledged the paper of observations

tions and suggestions, and although unable at the moment to advert in writing to the several points, he assured the Court that they had engaged, and continued to engage, his serious attention.

1833.

Bill introduced into the House of Commons.

The Bill was presented to the House of Commons by Mr. Grant, and read a first time on the 28th of June.

Resolutions of the Commons debated in the House of Lords.

The resolutions of the Commons relative to the affairs of the Company had been communicated at a conference to the Lords on the 17th June, by whom they were taken into consideration on the 5th July: on which occasion, the Marquis of Lansdown, adverting to the means of India to meet the charge, stated,

That it was owing in a great measure to the exertions of the Governor-general, Lord William Bentinck, in fearlessly carrying into effect measures of economy transmitted to him from the Home authorities.

The Resolutions of the Commons were agreed to, and ordered to be communicated at a conference on Tuesday, the 9th July.

Debate on the Bill in the Commons.

The second reading of the Bill took place in the House of Commons on the 11th July, when a motion was made,

Second reading, House of Commons.

That the confiding the political administration of our East-India possessions, with the interests of one hundred million of people, to the direction of a Joint Stock Company, and taxing the natives of those countries for the payment of the dividends of a mercantile concern to the constantly varying holders of East-India stock, is a question involving too many important considerations to be hastily decided

decided on, more especially for so long a term as twenty years; and that, as the other business of the session is already more than sufficient to occupy the whole time and attention of the Legislature to bring it to a satisfactory completion, it is expedient that a short Bill be passed for the opening of the trade with China, in April 1834, and that all the arrangements which may be thought desirable for the administration of India, should be deferred till next session.

Bill read a second time.

The Bill was read a second time and committed for Friday.

Court's observations on the Bill.

On the 23d July, the Bill, as amended in Committee, having been fully considered by the Court of Directors, they addressed a letter to the President of the Board, requesting that, as there was no provision in it for a regular communication to Parliament in cases of a difference between the Board and the Court, a sufficient time might be allowed to enable the Proprietors to petition Parliament, should they see fit, against the Bill; also stating, that they objected to an augmentation of charge on account of new appointments, and to a continuance of the East-India College, together with the proposed mode of nominating Writers.

President of the Board declines to postpone the third reading.

The President declined to interfere with the arrangement which had been made for the Bill being read a third time on the 26th.*

On

* J. R. Carnac, Esq. recorded a dissent on the 26th July to the Court's resolution approving the petition to Parliament, because

On the morning of that day the Proprietors agreed to a petition,

Company petition against the Bill.

Praying that the House would make provision for reporting differences between the Board and the Court to Parliament, and representing that the Bill would effect a serious change in the constitution of the subordinate Governments, and place an excess of power in the hands of the Governor-general. They urged the appointment of a lieutenant-governor for the Western Provinces, in lieu of a fourth presidency, and stated that the proposal to vest the executive governments of Madras and Bombay in Governors without Councils, was open to serious objections. The expense of a new government at Agra was pointed out, as well as that on account of the proposed increase in the ecclesiastical establishment, and the needless charge that would be incurred by maintaining the college at Haileybury, and praying to be heard by counsel in support of the petition.

The Bill was read a second time, and committed for Monday the 5th; on which day the petition from the Company was presented by the Earl of Shaftesbury. The House declined to hear counsel in support of the petition.

Second reading in Lords; Company's petition presented.

Various amendments having been adopted, the Committee adjourned to Monday the 7th, when a petition was presented by the Earl of Aberdeen in behalf of the Carnatic creditors, complaining of the situation in which they were placed by the Bill. The Marquis Lansdown having agreed to

because he thought too much stress had been laid upon some of the points urged on the attention of Parliament; also explaining his views on the general question.

to attend to the subject, the Bill was further discussed, and, on the suggestion of the Duke of Wellington, the words

> Whereas it is expedient that slavery should cease throughout the said territories,

were omitted.

On the 9th August, at the instance of the Marquis of Lansdown, the fifth member of Council was excluded from sitting or voting, except when the Council should be engaged in making laws or regulations, thus removing the objection to a fifth member encumbering the Council in its executive capacity. An amended clause was also introduced as to slavery, subjecting any proposed laws regarding it, as suggested by the Governor-general in Council, to approval by the Court of Directors before promulgation.

Final Resolution of Court of Directors on the Bill

On the 12th August the Court of Directors came to the following resolution :

> Resolved, That the East-India Bill having arrived at its last stage in the House of Lords, it becomes the duty of the Court of Directors to submit to their constituents a final opinion regarding that Bill as it now stands; and whilst the Court are still impressed with the belief, that the cessation of the Company's trade will greatly weaken its position in this country, and consequently impair its efficiency in the administration of the government of India; whilst, also, they regard with much anxiety the increase of powers given by the said Bill to the Board of Commissioners for the Affairs of India, and greatly regret that Parliament has not provided some rule of publicity to act

as

as a salutary check both upon the Board and the Court; and whilst, further, the Court entertain the most serious apprehensions of the injurious effect upon the finances of India, which must result from the loss of the trade as a source of direct profit, and as a safe and beneficial channel of remittance, and from the new charges which the Bill imposes; yet, reviewing all the correspondence which has passed with his Majesty's Ministers upon this subject, trusting that the extensive powers of the Board will be exercised with moderation, and so as not to interfere with the independence of the Company as a body acting intermediately between the King's Government and the Government of India, which independence all parties have admitted it to be of vital importance to maintain, and relying with confidence that Parliament will interpose for the relief of any financial difficulties into which the Company may unavoidably be cast through the operation of extensive changes which the Bill proposes to effect,—the Court of Directors cannot do otherwise than recommend to the Proprietors to defer to the pleasure expressed by both Houses of Parliament, and to consent to place their right to trade for their own profit in abeyance, in order that they may continue to exercise the government of India for the further term of twenty years, upon the conditions, and under the arrangements embodied in the said Bill.

The Chairman and Deputy dissented from that resolution.*

William Astell, Esq., and fourteen other Directors, addressed a letter to the Proprietors, stating generally the grounds which induced them to support the recommendation to accept the Bill.

William

* Campbell Marjoribanks and William Wigram, Esqrs.

The attention of the President having been called to some requisite modifications in the Bill, and to the expediency of measures being taken for equalizing the duties on the produce and manufactures of India imported into this country, the 16th August was appointed for the opinion of the Proprietors being taken on the subject. When it was resolved by the ballot,*

Resolution of Proprietors to accept the Bill.

That this Court cannot contemplate without apprehension and alarm, the great and important change about to be introduced in the system which has been so long and so advantageously acted upon, as regards the administration of the Government of India, through the instrumentality of the East-India Company, whilst exercising the joint functions of government and commerce, or view the provisions of the Bill now before Parliament, intituled "An Act for effecting an Arrangement with the East-India Company, and for the better government of his Majesty's Indian Territories, till the 30th day of April 1854," without fully participating in the sentiments and apprehensions expressed by the Court of Directors in their resolution of the 12th instant, and throughout their correspondence with his Majesty's Ministers; but referring to the resolution of the General Court of the 3d May, and to that of the 10th June last, and to the various modifications which have been consented to on the part of Government, and since introduced into the Bill in the course of its progress through both

* For the question 173
Against.................................... 64

Majority for 109

both Houses of Parliament; and fully aware of the difficult circumstances in which the Company is placed, this Court thinks it expedient to defer to the determination of the Legislature, relying on its wisdom and justice, in the event of the expectations held out in the correspondence alluded to being disappointed, for such further legislative measures, as the interests of India and those of the East-India Company may require. Having thus recorded their sentiments with regard to the Bill before the Court, and confirmed the compromise contained therein, this Court desires solemnly to assure his Majesty's Government and the country, that they will, to the utmost extent of the functions with which they are about to be invested, contribute to give effect to the Bill when it shall become law, and promote, to the best of their ability, the happiness of India, and the honour and prosperity of the East-India Company.

The Bill was read a third time in the House of Lords on the 16th August, and passed on the following Monday. On the 28th the Royal Assent was given to it by Commission.

Read a third time in the Lords, and Royal Assent given to it.

The change which it has made in the character of the Company is as great, as the rapidity with which it was effected was extraordinary. Scarcely six weeks intervened between the announcement of the scheme to the General Court, and its adoption in principle by a ballot of eight to one in its favour.

It was a strong testimony to the judgment and foresight manifested by the Court of Directors in the management of the Company's commercial affairs, that, on so sudden and unexpected

pected a termination of those operations, the financial out-turn should have secured a continuation of the same rate of dividend as had been enjoyed by the stockholders for the preceding forty years, when the Company were in possession of their exclusive privileges, and also provide for the foundation of an accumulating guarantee fund for their principal of twelve millions.

The RISE AND PROGRESS of the BRITISH POWER in INDIA has now been traced, from the first incorporation of the late United Company of Merchants of England trading to the East-Indies, to the period when the converse of the proposition submitted to Parliament in 1783 was adopted by the Legislature, and agreed to by the Proprietors.

The Author has endeavoured to avoid all party feeling, in the preparation of this political narrative. When an opportunity is afforded of contemplating, free from official engagements, events and circumstances with which previous occupation may have rendered an individual in some degree familiar, facts may present themselves, and causes may be discovered which were before permitted to pass unheeded. Impressions may likewise have been created by early and continued associations, to which a mind, under other circumstances, might not have been subjected.

It

It is with no common feelings of satisfaction that the Author, whilst preparing this last sheet for the press, has perused a resolution of the Court of Directors, granting to the Most Noble the Marquis Wellesley the sum of twenty thousand pounds. Those parties whose means are at all dependent on India, and who are cognizant with the eminent services of that distinguished statesman, must acknowledge the debt of gratitude due to that noble lord. The opinion contained in this Work at the close of the review of his lordship's administration, has been in print some weeks. It was expressed in entire ignorance that any further testimony was intended to mark Lord Wellesley's brilliant career; and it is a source of much gratification to find, that the conclusion which had been arrived at, is sanctioned by the Honourable Executive Body of the East-India Company.

A review of the existing system, in connexion with the internal administration of British India, must form the subject of a separate work.

FINIS.

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